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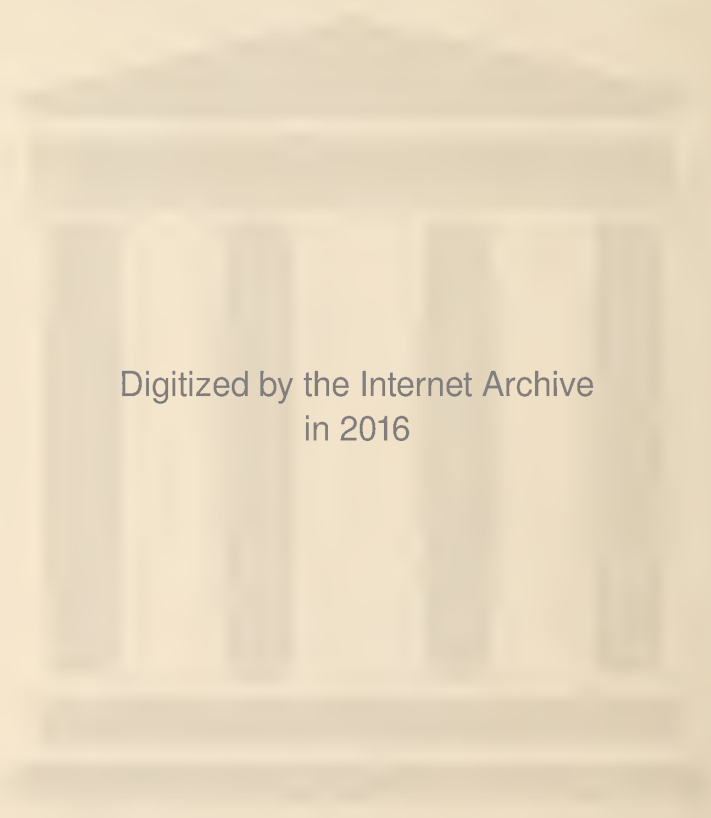
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THE
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VOL. XVIII.—JUNE, 1849.—No. 6.

ART. I. *Oath taken by members of the Triad Society, and notices of its origin.*

THE article of Dr. Milne in the February No. of Vol. XIV, contains the chief amount of the information possessed by the uninitiated respecting the objects and formation of the Triad Society. It is known that the Society includes among its members persons in almost every rank of official and private life throughout the provinces, and that its avowed object is to subvert the present dynasty and place a native prince on the throne; but by what specific means this object is to be attained, what control the members have over each other, what is their bond of union, and how great are their numbers, are points involved in mystery. The Society is held in much dread by the people generally, and hundreds of them are induced or compelled to join it from fear of its vengeance if offended, or in hopes to secure its aid in their distresses, rather than from any wish to carry out its designs, or intention to oppose the exactions of government, by presenting a decided stand in behalf of popular liberty. Whether the Association ever relieves its indigent members, rescues them from the oppression of official myrmidons when innocent of crime, or does deeds of charity in other ways to the deserving of its body, we do not know; it is to be hoped there are acts of this nature done, which may serve in some degree to offset the multitude of odious and unjust deeds laid at its door by the public voice, and we have been told such do exist, though it is to be feared, judging from Chinese character, that they are comparatively rare.

We have been favored by a friend with a variety of documents and banners relating to the Triad Society, which afford internal evidence of authenticity, judging from their conformity with, and explanation of many things in the paper of Dr. Milne already referred to, but yet can not be altogether understood without the assistance of a member of the Association himself. We have looked over them carefully, and extracted some notices from a manuscript history of the origin of the Brotherhood contained in the collection, which we give according to the best of our understanding of them. We first give a translation of the oath taken by members at their entrance, which has thirty-six articles as Dr. Milne says (Vol. XIV. p. 62), and consists of separate heads with an imprecation annexed to each. The idol's name is not mentioned, so far as we have discovered, but from some allusions in one of the papers, we infer that the Brotherhood worship Kwántí, or the god of War, though we are inclined to think the same idol is not everywhere adored. The oath administered to the neophytes is as follows, with the preamble.

"Whereas, on account of humanity, justice, propriety, wisdom, and faithfulness, of benignity, gentleness, respect, politeness, and condescension, of whatever is low, and whatever is great, in heaven or earth, we combine everywhere to recall the Ming and exterminate the barbarians, cut off the 'Tsing, and await the right prince. We humbly beseech Imperial heaven and Queenly earth, the *lares rustici* of the mountains and streams, the true spirit of the six rivers, the dragon god who rules the afflatus of our region in all its bounds and parts, the six spirits of fire and wood ruling over this day, who report on affairs to Kung-ts'u, the holy and honorable spirits who move to and fro through the expanse,—we beseech all these to descend together. Heaven and earth are spread out, and everything is happy and prosperous: what our founders have transmitted, we will teach to others, and now reassembled before our Incense Lord, we humbly pray to Imperial Heaven, and swear to live and die together.

"We now bring the crowd of neophytes to join the association of Heaven and Earth; they take for their surname *Hung* (Great), for their country *Kin-lán* (Golden Orchis, *Qu.* the Brotherhood?), and for their hall, *Hung-shun* (Obedient to Hung). As in ancient days, when [Liú Pí, Kwán Yü, and Cháng Fí] pledged each other in the Peach garden,* making loyalty and faithfulness the foundation, humani-

* The engagement here referred to is well known among the Chinese, and the covenant of these three men may have suggested the oath taken by members of the Triad Society, ostensibly for a similar patriotic purpose. The *Sán Kwoh Chí* thus describes the persons, and the oath they took in the Peach garden.

"This man did not love study very much; he was a man of few words, liberal and kind disposition, not showing his feelings in his countenance, and keeping to his purpose of uniting all the heroes in the country. He was eight *chih* tall, had pendent ears which he could see himself, his hands hung below his

ty and justice the head, and filial piety and obedience foremost; so now, the whole body of neophytes make these same six virtues the foundation of their oath. From the time of entering the Great Brotherhood,* we will help and care for each other as brothers, we will

knees, his face was pale and lips red. His name was Liú Pí, and his title Hüenteh (i. e. Dark Virtue); his father Liú Hung died when he was young, and he dutifully served his mother, living near a mulberry grove, the trees of which were over fifty feet in height, and their tops hung down like a canopy. A geomancer looking at the situation said, This family will certainly produce an honorable man; and Hüenteh himself was once playing with his mates under the trees, when he said, When I am emperor, I'll ride this canopy. His uncle marked these sayings, and because the family was poor, often gave them money, so that his mother sent him off to school when he was fifteen years old, where he made many friends.

"When 23 years old he one day read a proclamation of Liú Yen inviting recruits for the army, and groaned aloud. A man behind him cried out, Why do you groan, great Sir, and not go to the help of the country? Hüenteh turned, and seeing a man about eight cubits high, with a round head and goggle eyes, a bull neck, tiger's whiskers, a voice like thunder, and the strength of a wild horse, altogether a strange object, inquired his name. I am Cháng Fí, styled Yih-teh (i. e. Winged Virtue); I live in Tioh-kium, where I have a farmhouse, and sell spirits and pork; my great desire is to band all our heroes together, and seeing you, Sir, look at the proclamation and groan, I wished to know the reason. Hüenteh told him he was a relative of the emperor's, and desired to put down the Yellow Cap rebels, and restore peace to the state, but sighed because his strength was unequal to the task; upon which Cháng Fí proposed they should unite their fortunes and call some retainers to their standard for the purpose of assisting the emperor against his enemies. Hüenteh agreed, and they went into a pot-house to talk it over.

"While drinking there, they saw a man push a cart up to the door, and stop it, to come in and rest; he hastily called for a cup, saying he was going into the city to join the army. He was nine *chih* high, his beard two *chih* long, dark complexion, red lips, narrow eyes, and his whole appearance dignified and imposing. Hüenteh invited him to join them, and learned that his name was Kwán Yü, and his title Yuncháng; that five or six years before he had unluckily killed a braggart for insulting a man, and left his home in consequence; and that, hearing of the proclamation for recruits, he had now come to join the army. The two friends were pleased to hear his account, and told him their plans, when the three repaired to the farmhouse. Cháng Fí said 'I have a peach-garden back of my house now in full bloom; let us all meet there to-morrow, and sacrifice to heaven and earth, when we three will adopt each other as brothers with all our heart and strength; after this ceremony, we will plan our arrangements.' They agreed to the proposal, and a black ox, a white horse, and other sacrificial things, were duly made ready. On the morrow, the three men worshiped and burned incense there, and took an oath saying, 'We, Liú, Kwán and Cháng, although our surnames are unlike, do adopt each other as brothers, that with united heart and strength we may save our country from its dangers, and raise it from its distress, at once requiting his majesty and restoring peace to the blackhaired people. We were not born on the same day, but we wish to die together. O Imperial Heaven! O Queenly Earth! Look down into our hearts! If we abjure right and forget kindness, may heaven and men destroy us!' The oath having been taken, Hüenteh was acknowledged as the elder brother, Kwán Yü as next to him, and Cháng Fí as the youngest; and after the sacrifices to heaven and earth were finished, they killed oxen and spread out a feast in the peach-garden, to which they invited the literary and able-bodied men of the village to the number of three hundred men, who drank themselves quite tipsy."

* It is not very clear, whether by the term *Hung mun*, or *Hung kiu*, is meant the Great Brotherhood, or the Hung Brotherhood, for the word *hung* may in-

defend and care for each other, and with full strength and firm purpose will support each other to the utmost, as would brothers by the same mother, never caring whether it is our private concern or not.

"1. We reverence heaven as our father; 2. earth as our mother; 3. the sun as our brother; 4. and the moon as our sister-in-law; 5. we worship before the altar of the five ancestors; 6. we worship Wán Yun-lung as the founder of our brotherhood; 7. the whole associated body as our righteous brethren; 8. and the whole family of Hung as honored relatives of the same blood. Kneeling before the white silver tripod, with a pure heart we take the oath;—each one pricking his finger and drinking the blood, we swear that we will live and die together, and pledge ourselves for the good of the Kinlân country. On the 25th day of the 5th month in the year *kiáh-yen* (1674?), at a lucky hour, was the birthday of the brethren. We [swear we] will not disclose our connection with them by any words, nor indicate our knowledge of the Triad by any motions of the hand; we will rejoice when they are happy, and be as persons riding one horse (will assist them in everything). Our purpose will never alter, and our faithful and patriotic spirit will diffuse pleasure among the whole. Seeing that, in the revolution of heaven (or affairs), there is now a prince in the court who is no prince, and ministers who are no ministers, there must be a determination to restore the Ming. Having received the special commands of our "incense lord" Chin Kinnán, we have set up the Red-flower pavilion, raised the bridge, opened the market, and performed plays at a propitious hour. We who have the will, together enter the Muh-yáng city, and take an oath, like the seas and mountains for unchangeableness, that we will act in obedience to Heaven, each one performing his own part; as the Ode says, 'He who obeys heaven prospers, he who opposes it perishes.' In the first place, we will restore the ancient dominion, and thus revenge the wrongs received when of old they burned the priests in the monastery of Sháulin; and in the second place, we will avenge the defeat of our forefathers on the field of battle, and in restoring the Ming dynasty, the whole country will revert to the Great Brotherhood.

[The heads of the oath given to each member are as follows.]

"1. After entering the Great Brotherhood, you swear not to oppose the heavenly relations, nor alter your mind by violating this oath, nor plan any injury against a brother: if you do, may the god of Thunder utterly destroy and exterminate you.

"2. After entering, you swear not to clandestinely give, or initiate by, or sell the girdle, or coats of the Hung family: if you do, may you vomit blood and die.

"3. After entering, you swear not to conduct a spy whereby any brother will be apprehended, having in so doing, a covetous desire to obtain the reward offered [by government]: if you do, may you die by the wound of a snake, or the bite of a tiger.

directly refer to Hungwú, the founder of the Ming dynasty, and be used as a technical name. Dr. Milne renders it *Flood family*, but this is doubtless incorrect.

"4. After entering, you swear not to debauch a brother's wife, daughter, or sister: if you do, may you perish under the knife.

"5. After entering, you swear not to vilify the laws or acts of the Association, nor introduce into the company of the Brotherhood, those who are not members, nor secretly disclose its principles: if you do, may your body be cut in pieces.

"6. After entering, you swear, if you are a father, not to reveal the laws of the Brotherhood to your son, if an elder brother not to tell them to your younger brother, nor to disclose them to your relations or friends: if you do, may you die under the sword.

"7. After entering, you swear you will not oppress the weak by employing the strong, nor the poor by means of the rich, nor the few by the many: if you do, may you die by myriads of knives.

"8. After entering, you swear that wherever in the two capitals (Peking and Nanking) and the thirteen provinces, a brother, whom you know to be such, shall arrive, you will lodge and feed him, receive him and see him on his journey: if you do not, may you die under the sword.

"9. After entering, you swear that whoever of your brethren meets with pressing difficulties, you will faithfully and disinterestedly rescue him: if you do not, may you be cut into myriads of pieces by thousands of swords.

"10. After entering, you swear to regard the parents of a brother as your own father or mother, and if a brother place his wife, or deliver his son into your charge, you will regard them as your own sister-in-law or your own nephew: if you do not, may Heaven destroy you.

"11. After entering, you swear to make no new enemies, nor remember the old ones: if you do, may you vomit blood and die.

"12. After entering, you swear that whenever a brother shall trust you with money or clothes to take to any place for him, you will carry them for him, and not appropriate them to yourself: if you do not, may the god of Thunder utterly destroy and exterminate you.

"13. After entering, you swear that whenever you commit any transgression, your own body will endure its retribution, your own life will suffer its penalty, and you will not implicate a brother, nor extort his money: if you do not, may you vomit blood and die.

"14. After entering, you swear you will devise no scheme to injure a brother, or benefit yourself at his expense: if you do, may you be killed with the sword.

"15. After entering, you swear that if you fill the situation of writer or policeman in the government offices, you will faithfully and diligently assist a brother in trouble: if you concoct any artful plans in this position, may the god of Thunder utterly destroy and exterminate you.

"16. After entering, you swear not to compel a brother to sell you on credit, or force him to lend you, or rob him on the road; if you do, may you vomit blood and die.

"17. After entering, you swear that if you become an officer of government, you will not injure a brother in order to obtain promotion: if you do, may you die by the wound of a snake or the bite of a tiger.

"18. After entering, you swear that should a brother become pros-

perous, you will not stop him in his path to extort from him: if you do, may you die by the sword.

"19. After entering, you swear you will not irregularly take a sister-in-law in the Brotherhood, to wife, contracting the marriage by a go-between, nor have any illicit intercourse: if you do, may you die under the sword.

"20. After entering, you swear you will not, when the brethren become numerous, secretly get them into a gambling-house in order to cheat a brother out of his property: if you do, may the god of Thunder destroy you.

"21. After entering, you swear that should you by mistake ignorantly rob a brother of his property, you will restore it to him as soon as you find out that he is a brother: if you do not, may you vomit blood and die.

"22. After entering, you swear that if you meet a brother fighting with another man, you shall inquire, and if he is in the right, you shall help him; but if he is not, you shall dissuade him; you will not assist another man and insult a brother: if you do, may the god of Thunder destroy you.

"23. After entering, you swear not to avenge your private animosity under pretence of a public wrong, thus covertly scheming to injure a brother: if you do, may you be bitten by a tiger when you ascend a hill, may you drown when you go into the water.

"24. After entering, you swear never to requite the favors you receive from a brother by evil acts, nor injure him in your lust of gain and pursuit of wealth: if you do, may the thunder kill or fire destroy you.

"25. After entering, you swear that whenever a subscription is raised to relieve a brother who has met with distress, you will not appropriate that money to your own use: if you do, may you be cut in pieces.

"26. After entering, you swear that, as each brother has his own share, whenever you borrow of a brother you will repay him, and not avail of a false pretext to cheat him: if you do, may you vomit blood and die.

"27. After entering, you swear that you will not give ear to slanderous reports tending to interrupt brotherly feeling: if you do, may you die by the sword.

"28. After entering, you swear that if your own brother be fighting with a brother of the Association, you will exhort them to stop, but will not secretly assist your own brother: if you do, may you vomit blood and die.

"29. After entering, you swear that whenever you see a brother oppressed or insulted by a person not a member, you will go forward to assist him, and not keep back from fear: if you do not, may the thunder kill, or the fire destroy you.

"30. After entering, you swear you will not conduct a diabolical man into a brother's house, or concoct his injury with persons not members: if you do, may you perish by the sword.

"31. After entering, you swear that whatever you receive in charge from a brother, you will faithfully and diligently attend to it, and not defraud or deceive him: if you do, may you perish by the sword.

"32. After entering, you swear that, in your intercourse with your brethren, you will not appear to agree with them while you are secretly opposing them: if you do, may you vomit blood and die.

"33. After entering, you swear you will not, on returning home, secretly discard your oath: if you thus privately release yourself from it, may you be struck down to Tartarus, and never undergo any transmigration.

"34. After entering, you swear to live in harmony with your brethren, mutually receiving and giving assistance: if you do not, may the god of Thunder strike you dead.

"35. After entering, you swear to wear mourning three years [for a brother?]; and if one is publicly nominated, and the documents and the dresses are delivered to him, then you will acknowledge him as 'Incense Lord:' if you deceive your brethren, may the god of Thunder destroy you.

"36. All you neophytes who have sworn this evening must remain united from first to last, and your faithful and righteous adherence to this oath without reservation will diffuse happiness among the brethren."*

The ode says,

Bring the embroidered silken palampore to cover the sons of Hung;
Who knows who it was that sewed in its gay colors?
The Great Extreme and Two Powers spread out the heavens and the earth;
Enter the Brotherhood, and learn to obey its requirements;
Let every one obey and remember them, preserving them even to the end,
Retaining every particular in his mind, for they are vastly important.
One spirit pervades all the brave hearts, separate them not!
Everywhere restore the Ming; now concoct your plans!
Their oath is firm like the seas and hills, they carefully remember it;
The gods protect them if they raise their heads even a little.

Dr. Milne observes that nothing of the Society's regulations are printed, and the documents sent us are in manuscript, some on cloth,

* Some features of this oath resemble that taken by the members of the *Vehme-gericht*, as given by Scott, in *Anne of Geierstein*. "I swear by the Holy Trinity, to aid and co-operate without relaxation, in the things belonging to the Holy *Vehme*, to defend its doctrines and institutions against father and mother, brother and sister, wife and children; against fire, water, earth, and air; against all that the sun enlightens; against all that the dew moistens; against all created things of heaven and earth, or the waters under the earth; and I swear to give information to this holy judicature, of all that I know to be true, or hear repeated by credible testimony, which by the rules of the Holy *Vehme*, is deserving of animadversion or punishment; and that I will not cloak, cover, or conceal, such my knowledge, neither for love, friendship, or family affection, nor for gold, silver, or precious stones; neither will I associate with such as are under the sentence of this sacred tribunal, by hinting to a culprit his danger, or advising him to escape, or aiding and supplying him with counsel, or means to that effect; neither will I relieve such culprit with fire, clothes, food, or shelter, though my father should require from me a cup of water in the heat of summer noon, or my brother should request to sit by my fire in the bitterest cold night of winter: And further, I vow and promise to honor this holy association, and do its behests speedily, faithfully, and firmly, in preference to those of any other tribunal whatsoever.—So help me God, and his holy Evangelists."

others in small paper books, much thumbed, with a number of little flags, such as are stuck through the ears of criminals. One of the books contains, apparently, an account of the origin of the Association, the chief contents of which we give under that impression; though some parts of it may be misinterpreted from a lack of acquaintance with the secrets of the Confederation.

This account will explain many of the allusions in the preamble of the oath, but some of them are dark. The "Incense Lord" seems to be the title for the Grand Master of the lodge, which under the similitude of an encampment is called the Muhyáng city, said to be the name of a city in the Ming dynasty. Whether the term *Kinlân* denotes the associated body, or is another name for the lodge, is doubtful. The Red flower pavilion is the innermost part of the lodge, and the neophyte enters it by passing over the bridge, which Milne describes. "Opening the market" is probably a slang phrase for constituting a lodge, and the plays are performed in honor of the patron deity, and belike too to conceal the proceedings of the Brotherhood. Whether the imprecation attached to each clause of the oath alludes to the means which will be taken to punish an offending brother, or is a mere malediction invoked to terrify and insure secrecy, can hardly be ascertained; it is more than probable that the Fraternity often visit deadly retribution upon its recreant brothers.

"In the year 1674, Kánghí, having met many disasters in his wars in the Si-lú country, and his general Koh Tinghwui having sent for succors, held a cabinet council, and resolved to issue a proclamation, inviting any and all of his subjects to come forward and assist him in obtaining the victory, promising them high honors and rewards if they succeeded. The priests of the Sháulin monastery on the Kiú-lien hills in the department of Fuhchau in Fuhkien, 128 in number, seeing the proclamation, took it down and informed the magistrates, that without employing any of the national squadrons, they would make peace with the Si-lú country. Their offer was accepted, and they were taken to the capital with the troops, where they had an audience with his majesty, who conferred the title of major-general on their abbot, giving him a sword, and a seal, bearing the inscription of *Kiá hau jih shán*, or Enlarger of the Country. They immediately started with troops, having an imperial order to draw for supplies on the army commissary Ching Kiuntáhi; on the very day they left with troops they had an engagement, and in the course of three months subjugated the Si-lú country. They were received with great éclat on their return, and honored with an audience."

Subsequent to this, the priests were persecuted by the rulers of the province, and seem to have determined to assert their rights. They opposed them, and the account says their advice was, "Let us, bre-

thren, first act, for he is not a match for us;" they then killed Kien Tsió. Instantly, the flames burst out on every side of the monastery, late in the night while the priests were asleep, and when no helping hand could reach them, by which most of the brethren perished, only 18 men being scarcely saved. These, taking the seal and sword, repaired to a back pavilion, and knelt before the altar of Budha, begging him to rescue them. He straightway ordered Chú-kái to descend and transform himself into two roads, whereby he could save these men. They thus went out of the monastery, and saw one *Má Urhfu* standing amongst the troops, and said, "This is the man who served as guide to the troops to come and set fire to our monastery. He has this day revenged his hatred by acting as guide." They then struck him dead, on which the troops became furious; but the priests being few, they were no match, though they fought till dawn; they however escaped to Chángshá mart in Húkwáng, where thirteen of them afterwards died by reason of hunger and the hardships of the season. The other five, named Tsái, Fáng, Má, Hú, and Lí, were happily saved by two men Sié and Wú in a vessel, in which they abode many days. They heard that Chin Hiung had come to Húkwáng with a body of soldiers, and that Ching Kiuntáh had gone to meet him with an escort. They met in the way, and Chin Hiung opening his majesty's decree, read that 'Kiuntáh is very intimate with the priests of the Sháulin monastery, and has been plotting sedition; he has permission to strangle himself.' Chin Hiung took his corpse and threw it into a stream in Húkwáng, and then returned to Peking, while the troop went and informed his family, which on hearing of his death went to seek and bury it; his son Táuteh and his nephew Táufáng were of the number.

"The five priests took leave of their hosts Sié and Wú, and went to the Káu-kí temple 高溪廟 to seek a lodging, where they were received; and told all their wrongs to Hwáng and his wife Chung living there. They tarried a fortnight, when they heard the troops had learned their retreat, and fled to the Lingwáng temple. One day while here, they rambled along the river, and saw a white silver tripod censer on the bank, and afterwards a green gem; on the bottom they read this sentence, 'Overthrow the T'zing, restore the Ming;' they also found two porcelain vessels used to cast lots by, and threw them to the ground thrice without breaking, whereupon they said, 'The day of our revenge will come.' A troop of horse pursued them here, but though unarmed they escaped with their lives, and fled to a hill, where they met the family of Kiuntáh, and saw a peach-wood sword coming out of the ground, on which were two dragons fighting for a pearl, and the same four characters as above engrav'd on its hilt. The troop still pursuing them they reached the tomb, when the two women taking this sword went out against them, and compelled the soldiers to retreat. The women then told the fugitives that they were of the family of Ching Kiuntáh, whose corpse had been buried in that place and invited them to repair to their dwelling to lodge for the night, which they did, and the next morning went back to the monastery of Lingwáng.

"At this time, five persons, Wú, Hung, Lí, Táu, and Lin, who traded in horses for a livelihood, came to the Lingwáng monastery in the course of their journeyings, and there made an engagement with these five priests, the parties taking a mutual oath to hold fast in good faith with each other in life or death. There was also one Chin Kinnán of the White Stork hill, who used to go up and down through the country pretending to speak upon reason, but really in search of honest men, who was talking upon a variety of matters with Túlung, Túfáng, Hokái, and Chinpiáu, and repaired with them to the monastery. The five priests, pursued again by the soldiers, fled to the Lungfú hill, where they were rescued by five robbers, who cried out to them to come up the hill. After learning their history, the robbers told them they had better stay there privately two or three months, and then go to the Red Flower pavilion to raise troops and purchase horses. Soon after this Chin Kinnán came there, and informed the priests that he had been an officer in the Board of War and a member of the Hánlin, but having been driven from his post by the machinations of his enemies, he had retired to the White Stork hill, but had now come to join their company and avenge his wrongs. They were all much pleased to hear this, exclaiming, 'Happy are we in getting your aid; now we shall succeed.' They accordingly divined a lucky time, viz., high noon of the 25th day of the 7th month, when they drank their blood and took the oath of brotherhood, promising also to draw out their forces on the 15th day of the next month. Suddenly there was a shaking in the southern sky, and these four characters appeared, *T'ien ting kwoh shih*, i. e. 'Heaven's court is the pattern for the state,' which they took as the inscription on their banner; they had 170 men in their service at this time.

"Chú Hungchuh, a descendant of the house of Ming, also came to them at this juncture, unarmed, saying that he was the grandson of Tsungching and his empress Li; he was immediately acknowledged as their head, Kinnán as their general, and the other members of the company were appointed to various posts as ministers, generals, &c., all taking the bloody oath of brotherhood. A man named Hwáng Ching-ngan, 黃成恩 also joined himself to them at this time, whom Kinnán, seeing his bravery, appointed Head Lance of the Van. The brotherhood took the surname of *Hung* at this time (from Hung-wú, founder of the Ming?), and 義 *patriotism* as their watchword; Hwáng also changed his name to *T'ien Yúhung* 天祐洪 i. e. Heaven protects the Hung. They then consecrated their standards, raised troops, and went to Chelkiáng. On their journey they passed a monastery, from whence a priest named Wán Yunlung came out to inquire what priests they were who carried banners, and asked them to enter his dwelling. This man had formerly unluckily killed a man, and fled to a monastery; he was ten cubits high, his head as large as a peck-measure, his hair red, and his arms like two beams. They told him, 'The officers of this dynasty are unreasonable, and we are going to revenge the burning of the Sháulin monastery, and murder of our brethren.' He was filled with anger at their recital, and they to

induce him to join them, saluted him as their *tá ko*, or great elder-brother, and made him generalissimo, whereupon he took the oath. The troop had several skirmishes at the Five Phoenix hill, in which this Yunlung lost his life on the 9th of the 9th month by his horse falling upon a rocky ledge; on this Kinnán said, 'It was not the will of heaven that he died, his number was not yet fulfilled.' His corpse was burned, and the ashes buried near the Tingshán hill, in the luckiest spot possible, and a tombstone erected there. Kinnán also told the brethren they had better distribute themselves over all the provinces, concealing their names as members of the Association, until heaven gave them the signal when they ought to act. 'Let us establish the Heaven and Earth Association, adopting a five-colored banner as the evidence, whose meaning we are on no account to divulge, but which will serve as a recognition for ourselves when we meet.' They were accordingly arranged into divisions according to the provinces: the five priests from the Sháulin monastery, Tsái, Fáng, Má, Hú and Lí were made heads of the five senior lodges, and respectively sent to Fuhkien, Kwángtung, Kwángsí, Húkwáng and Chehkiáng, to raise troops. The five dealers in horses, Wú, Hung, Táu, Lí and Lin, were made heads of the five junior lodges, and sent to Sz'chuen, Kweichau, Kiángnán, Yunnán, and Honán, provinces, to carry out the same designs. Kinnán returned into privacy to the White Stork hill, where he made a purse, a toga, and tunic of which he gave a suit to each division."

In one of the books, the portraits of many of the persons spoken of in this account are drawn, commencing with Chú Hungchuh. This manuscript also contains a hundred or more stanzas relating to almost every act performed in the lodge, and to the utensils and articles constituting its furniture, written in the simplest doggerel, of which a specimen or two will suffice.

Stanzas on the Muhyáng city.

The divisions of Muhyáng town are five;
Its jars and its stones all bear a priceless cost;
The heroes are there in untold array,
In bands of martial and civil sway,
Ready their master's behests to obey.

Stanzas on five men bringing a cannon.

Five men bring in a gun to fight the troops of Tsing,
But not to hurt the patriot hearts in Hung-hwá ting,
They'll fight the *fú* and *chau*, they'll conquer all the *hien*,
And rout the court of Tsing to call back the Great Ming.

Among the documents are several diagrams on cloth, which appear like plans of an encampment, but we can not decipher them in all their parts without assistance from the initiated. There are also small paper tablets, about 6 in. by 3 in., like those sometimes used in ancestral worship, dedicated to various persons and powers, as "Chú Hungchuh, emperor of the Great Ming, may he live for ever," to the

wife and sister of Kiuntáh, to Yunlung, &c., which are placed upon altars to receive the adoration of the members. The forty-five little triangular paper banners bear inscriptions and markings in different colors, like those drawn in the compartments of the encampments; in the centre are the names of the five planets, five elements, five ranks of nobility, five virtues, &c., one banner to each, with inscriptions on the sides; but both banners and plans require to be engraved in order to illustrate their description. They are probably placed in different parts of the lodge to serve to mark the divisions of the encampment. The following is an official insignia to hang at the outer gate of the magistracy.

How large the Middle Kingdom,
How spacious had its sway become !
A thousand climes its lord confessed ;
The northern men this realm did wrest,
For which our hate is still repressed.
Enlist your troops ! Buy up the steeds !
Raise high the flowery bridge !
The conclave meets to lay its plans,
And sweep clean off the Tartar bands.

Opposite to it hangs an edict from the Grand Master of this province.

Fáng, the second in degree of Great Ancestors, in the province of Kwángtung, hereby issues a proclamation respecting upholding the Ming and rooting out the Tsing. WHEREAS, seeing that in the year 1674, the company of priests of the Sháulin monastery obtained great honor by the manner in which they entered the Sí-lú country and exerted their prowess, and conquered a peace, yet did the emperor Kángxí, a monarch of Tsing without any honor, disregarding his word and violating his faith, reward kindness with revenge; and suddenly on the festival of the 15th of the 1st month, falsely calling it conferring a reward, secretly plan to attack the monastery with fire, by which the whole establishment suffered damage, though, supported by divine power the Five Ancestors found a way to be saved; this injury is not yet revenged. Having now received the orders of our Incense Lord, Chin Kinnán, to go into every province and set up the Great family, 'raising the bridge and opening the market' every 3d, 8th, 13th, 18th, 23d and 28th day of the month, and calling the worthy and learned brethren together to salute each other and make a covenant like that in the Peach garden: let there be, therefore by this means, a mutual response when called upon, and mutual assistance in difficulty: let us wait until the patriot banner be raised, when we will assist in restoring the Ming dynasty, and revenge the bitter wrongs of the Five Ancestors.

Therefore, wherever the young, the poor, or the rich are found, and on the above 'market' days, the brethren bring them forward as neophytes to join the brotherhood, all shall come to the *tai ping tí*, or great peaceful land (the lodge-room?); they must not retract their oath, nor draw back from their connection, nor are small parties of three or five to be allowed to put their heads together and inflame the minds of their fellows by foolish talk, nor to make a disturbance and loud talking, nor open a room to collect gamblers; all which you, who act as wardens and officers in the 'city' should most sternly prohibit: much more ought you, when neophytes 'enter the city,' to closely examine into their character and parentage, and learn fully what report says of them. If the wardens, &c. omit to investigate one of these particulars, let them be sternly examined according to the laws, and punished without leniency. Let every one tremblingly obey, without opposition, these special commands.

To be hung up on the outer door.

The same book which contains the historical account also furnishes some detached notices of the manner in which new members are taken into the Fraternity, but we hardly think all the steps of their initiation are given, but rather that the following sentences are the fragments of a fuller account which the writer was copying.

The novices are brought up to the outer door by the *Sien Fung* 先鋒 or Head Lance, who presents them to the warden, and says, "I hear that to-night the Five Ancestors are going to open a meeting of the Hung family, having a great concourse in the city of Muhyáng, raising the bridge, and opening the market: Now Tien Yú-hung of Káu-ki has brought some neophytes to enter the army and draw rations, and here is a card to show to the Five Ancestors (viz. the five priests who escaped from the burning monastery), which I beg your excellency to take in for me."

The warden says, "I will." He then goes in up to the head teacher, saying, "There is one Tien Yúhung at the outer door, who has brought some novices to enter the army and draw rations, and here is his card."

The head teacher replies, "From Pwánkú to the present day no one ever had the surname *Jin* (Man); how is it there is a man whose surname is *Tien* (i. e. Heaven)? Tell him to give in his true name and surname, for if there be the least duplicity, he shall be turned out of the office gate, and his head cut off without reprieve."

The warden then returns and reports, upon which the Head Lance says, "I am no other than Hwáng Ching-ngan, once in the service of his majesty Tsungching. By means of the revolt of a traitorous crew which wished to deprive him of his fair and fertile fields, my master and his minister were driven out of the imperial city, and in a battle with them were defeated; his late majesty fled to the Plum hill, where seeing retreat and escape from his pursuers alike impossible, he strangled himself; I also came to the same spot, and seeing the corpse of my lord, and that his dominions were irrecoverably seized by the barbarians, I hung myself with my own girdle, and died at his feet, and my loyal spirit followed my master to the great national temple, hoping and seeking a place of rest. Who would have supposed my master there would say, 'Hwáng Ching-ngan is a recreant minister; he hung himself at his master's corpse, and it is right to punish him.' When the ministers heard this, they drove Hwáng out of the temple, and this loyal spirit has never been at rest, but ever wandering up and down in mid-heaven. One day, a red vapor appeared in the sky, and the sage Táhmo stood on the top of a cloud, holding a

pair of ashy sandals; Hwáng went up and besought him for aid; he inquired into all the particulars of his history, and took his loyal spirit, and carefully put it into a gourd jar. He then counted his fingers, and said, 'I know the revenge to be taken for the burning of the Shíulin monastery; you must act in accordance with the will of heaven in overthrowing the Tsing and restoring the Ming.'

"Now on the 25th day of the 7th month in the year *kiáhyun* (1674?) at noon, the two brothers T'áutih and T'áufing (son and nephew of Ching Kiuntáih), also called Kieh and Wán, had a consultation in the Káukí temple. The loyal spirit of Hwáng Ching-ngan entered into the body of Sú Hungkwáng in the Lingwáng temple, giving him an iron-soled pair of grass sandals; he went to the Káukí temple, where the two brothers Kieh and Wán conferred upon him the title of *Tsien pú Sien-fung* 前部先鋒 or Head Lance of the Van. He has come now to bring in his card to the Great Brotherhood. With this, he points to the word *Tien* as his real surname, and *Hung* as his real name, and says to the warden, 'I will trouble you to inform the head teacher of this for me.'"

The head teacher says, "This then is the true Tien Yúhung; please direct him to bind his head and take off his mail, and then come up into the door.'"

Stanzas on the Head Lance entering the city with his card.

They now marshal the brave spears at Káu kí,
The Head Lance Tien Yúhung arranges the rules of war;
I hear that at Muhyáng a large assembly is convened,
For the sons of Hung to be brought into the castle.
He stops his car, wishing to enter the office gate:
It is guarded so strict that the wind can not leak in;
He quickly comes to the warden and sends up his card,
Begging him to pass on his memorial to the true prince.

The warden then announces, "The guardian of the heir-apparent, president of the Board of War, dressed partly as a civilian, and partly as an officer, raised three steps and recorded ten times, Head Lance of the body-guard of the emperor, Tien Yúhung."

Stanzas on entering.

I now enter the Great Brotherhood to band with the two brothers,
Before heaven I swear these are my real ideas;
At the port of Chángshá they joined heaven and earth,
Passing over the Black Dragon ford to make peace.
With brass and steel they form the bridge for brothers to pass.
On the bridge they see in the city of Muhyáng,
A fir and cedar standing on the right and left.
A Red Flower pavilion for binding patriotism,
The fraternity sit before the Loyal Righteous hall;
In the city myriads of troops stand in marshal array.
In the Happy Virtuous temple they are laying their plans,
To exterminate the Tsing and restore the great Ming.

He asks, "When you have passed the great door what do you come to?"—"To the *Chung I Tung*, or Loyal Righteous hall."—"Who are the wardens?"—"Two generals, Chin and Ching, are the wardens."

Thousands of troops pass before the Loyal Righteous Hall,
The generals in ward sitting opposite each other.
If there be a traitorous heart, let his head be cut off at the gate,
We want loyal and patriot hearts to help our prince and lord.

The other books consist principally of stanzas of poetry relating to the same subjects, which probably belonged to different persons, members of the fraternity, who wrote them out in such a manner as pleased them; a translation of some of their contents would show the feelings and objects of the Association and its members, but would throw little light upon the manner in which the lodges are organized throughout the provinces, nor how they are conducted in relation to the civil government, and in avoiding its vigilant search.

It may be well here to refer to two points in Dr. Milne's paper in Vol. XIV., in order to make them clearer. On page 65, he gives two lines of poetry taken from the seal,

"The hero band in full assembly meet,
Each man a verse to make the ode complete."

This is probably only half of the stanzas, thus given with a little alteration in one of the books:

五人分開一首詩
身上洪英無人知
此事傳得衆兄弟
後來相會團圓時

Five men a verse, to make the ode complete,
The braves of Hung no one doth lisp a breath,
But all the brethren learn the full secret,
And then in mutual pact they pledge their wealth.

This stanza is used as an acrostic for a longer ode of twenty-eight lines, the general purport of which is to uphold and encourage each other in gratifying their revenge against the dynasty. On the 66th page, the words *Káu k'i*, translated *ancient brook*, refer to the temple of *Káu-ki*, where the priests fled; the meaning being that from thence the Fraternity diffused itself abroad.

ART. II. *Tables of the Foreign Trade with China at the Five Ports during the years 1847 and 1848. Compiled from the British Consular returns and other sources.*

Betel-nut	2,174	8,164	9,503	33,261	111	50	...	...	1,299	1,002	3,002
Bird-nests	...	...	...	...	26	460	...	...	1,260	73	27,745
Bicho-de-mar	667	23,964	246	7,280	2,792	11,633	...	...	5,550	2,624	26,659
Cloves	364	7,408	400	8,400	...	...	...	...	120	53	1,025
Cotton	470,578	4,685,872	286,300	2,791,615	...	...	...	...	276,314	7,519	204,506
Cochineal	12,810	22,654	7,951	16,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Elephants' teeth	12,786	15,681	8,000	13,600	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fishmaws	1,239	56,475	637	31,550	...	...	...	...	430	...	...
Gambier	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	88	144
Gams, olibanum, &c	...	6,992	...	5,720	...	...	...	...	...	43	535
Hardware, watches, &c	...	10,256	...	5,000	...	1,181	...	...	...	...	...
Horns, cow, &c	240	5,228	56	1,307	...	...	...	...	305	...	...
Hides and furs	14,673	28,952	3,600	7,000	<i>pls.</i> 187	307	...	...	842	2,025	9,113
Indigo	...	...	...	...	7,756	10,026	<i>value</i>	...	...	...	...
Mother o' pearl shells	144	738	181	900	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mangrove bark	...	...	...	...	...	1,471 <i>pls</i>	1,000	...	10,850	...	...
Pepper	5,265	32,664	1,957	11,742	...	444	1,949	...	7,405	2,800	12,755
Patchouli	1,520	9,632	414	3,512	...	462	396	...	2,616	36	324
Rattans	7,423	25,713	4,814	15,887	6,907	5,403	5,834	...	1,288	2,767	8,001
Rice and pulse	5,910	11,672	700	1,750	3,000	1,437	...	...	7,397	59,651	59,788
Rose m'l res. ..	4,249	3,667	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,331	300	...
Shark's fins	4,998	119,245	5,020	120,000	...	...	...	...	175	38	1,729
Sugar	...	...	...	...	14,690	9,181	<i>value</i>	...	...	...	...
Soap	155	1,492	...	...	117	170	...	67,140	320	...	200
Smalts	111	4,546	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	240
Woods, sandal	19,197	193,426	20,732	207,400	9,653	19,314	...	...	...	955	9,485
" Ebony	...	...	261	1,305	5,909	1,962	3,186	25,242	567	21	87
" Sapan	680	2,675	4,619	7,853	749	418	7,871	1,433	...	...	...
" Laka, garroo, &c	...	...	...	...	578	361	...	4,907	640	3,924	3,924
" Wine, beer, &c	...	12,824	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,410	...	...
Sundries	...	165,260	...	100,000	...	9,009	...	...	660	...	...
Total	...	\$9,635,760	...	\$6,534,597	...	£1,009,229	...	£506,435	29,904	...	\$849,677

II.—EXPORTS FROM CANTON in British vessels, and from SHANGHAI and AMOY in all vessels, during the years 1847 and 1848.

N. B. *The Imports and Exports from Amoy in the year 1847 are in British vessels only.*

ARTICLES.	Canton.			Shanghai.			Amoy.				
	1847.	Value.	Quantity.	1848.	Value.	Quantity.	1847.	Value.	Quantity.	1848.	Value.
	Quantity			Value			Quantity			Quantity	
Alum.....	10,300	\$ 19,768	1,624	\$ 2,900	408	£ 85	2,200	£ 494	\$ 80	5	\$ 5
Aniseed star.....	366	3,574	241	2,290	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Anise oil.....	12	1,710	81	8,910	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arsenic.....	459	5,426	157	1,814	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bangles.....	198	11,782	155	10,500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bamboo ware.....	62	1,010	63	1,100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Building materials.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	726
Brass leaf.....	590	28,560	238	12,300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bone ware.....	576	650	200	300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Canes.....	225,000	2,645	91,000	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Capoor cutchery.....	315	65,432	38	304	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cassia.....	5,920	2,506	8,606	90,363	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cassia oil.....	13	3,127	27	3,210	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
China root.....	328	964	551	1,633	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cotton, raw.....	..	..	..	..	1,380	2,874	..	3,119	..	..	..
China ware.....	1,362	34,050	1,340	33,020	213	2,734	value	1,653	2,926	1,500	3,350
Copper, tin, and pewter ware.....	430	21,506	140	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	4	20
Fireworks.....	1,240	6,454	124	620	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Fans.....	4,662	6,982	1,945	2,918	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Furniture.....	12	321	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Glassware.....	359	7,082	122	2,440	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Glassbeads.....	1,754	35,436	1,248	31,100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Glue.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..
Grasscloth.....	2,769	8,507	7,501	22,503	..	..	..	..	..	..	63

The consular returns contain no statement respecting the trade at Fuhchau; and that at Ningpo only for the year 1847; at this last port, the Import trade in 1847 in four vessels was \$54,396, consisting of longcloths, woollens, rattans, and sandalwood. The Exports consisted of alum alone, to the extent of \$2,875.

III. STATEMENT of the principal IMPORTS into Canton in 1847 and 1848, compiled from the Custom-house records.

ARTICLES.	1847	1848	ARTICLES.	1847	1848
Broadcloth,.... pes.	22,497	9,728	Cudbear..... pcl.	80	35
Camlets, English "	3,713	1,280	Cornelians..... "	2	3
Do Dutch..... "	20	..	Coral..... "	40	22
Bombazetts..... "	2,515	3,300	Cow bezoar..... cat.	40	..
Lastings..... "	300	..	Cowhides..... pcl.	635	738
Bunting..... "	80	1,000	Cowhorns..... "	194	92
Long Ells..... "	44,180	34,140	Elephant's teeth "	41	45
Blankets..... "	2,380	2,132	Flints..... "	2,579	870
Longcloths, white "	105,556	59,033	Fishmaws..... "	1,454	1,152
Do gray..... "	451,729	346,795	Glue..... "	80	..
Drills and twills "	235,175	204,145	Gambier..... "	..	127
Shirtings, fancy "	200	..	Ginseng..... "	393	268
Chintzes..... "	5,785	6,329	Gypsum..... "	1,540	1,262
Handkerchiefs, "	123,260	..	Glassware..... "	998	166
Cottons, colored. "	5,562	9,038	Glass, window. "	..	1,228
Linen, Irish..... "	144	..	" broken..... "	..	43
Nankeens..... "	..	4,500	Gum Olibanum. "	1,947	1,496
Hemp cloth..... "	..	3,400	Ice..... "	..	2,000
Velvets..... "	40	1,790	M. o' pearl shells. "	141	185
Cotton Bombay, bales	139,766	147,899	Nutmegs..... "	..	41
" Bengal..... "	25,803	11,981	Oil paints..... "	8	..
" Madras..... "	26,448	14,525	Peas, green..... "	16	17
" American..... "	1,412	627	Putchuck..... "	586	345
" Shanghai..... "	4,081	1,430	Pepper..... "	1,463	612
Cotton yarn, .. "	13,676	5,570	Pumice-stone... "	9,650	7,995
" half..... "	..	2,372	Rose maloes..... "	..	126
Iron..... pcl.	8,422	14,269	Rattans..... "	4,472	4,820
Steel..... "	..	932	Rice..... "	101	..
Lead..... "	6,648	9,777	Raisins..... "	4,012	2,930
Spelter..... "	672	1,694	Sharkfins..... "	2,000	3,860
Tin, block..... "	38	240	Skins, beaver... no	590	..
Copper filings... "	..	82	" sea otter... "	937	9,766
Quicksilver.... cat.	..	126	" land otter... "	3,057	13,111
Tin plates..... bxs	699	122	" rabbit..... "	29	..
Amber..... pcl.	36	35	" fox..... "	5,635	5,620
Alum..... "	..	600	Smalts..... pcl.	35	..
Borax..... "	129	..	Sago..... "	..	81
Betelnut..... "	17,545	23,768	Soap..... "	..	19
Bicho de mar..... "	974	483	Tinder..... "	46	20
Birdsnests..... "	..	3	Tortoise-shell... "	3	..
Cloves..... "	736	423	Wood, sandal... "	18,129	23,715
Cochineal..... "	184	97	" oil..... "	7	..
Clocks, wooden. no	..	240	" Sapan..... "	..	1,825
Cutch..... pcl	..	301	" Ebony..... "	..	345

No. V.—British Manufactures re-exported from Canton to other Chinese ports in the years 1847 and 1848.

ARTICLES.	SHANGHAI.		AMOY.		NING- PO.	TOTAL.	
	1847.	1848.	1847.	1848.	1847.	1847.	1848.
Broadcloth and Sp. stripes chang	1,680	19,505	....	....	....	1,680	19,505
Long-ells	14,449	2,538	1,593	....	555	16,597	2,538
Camlets	3,807	....	....	....	....	3,807	....
Longcloths, gray .. piculs	42,418	36,604	21,320	11,550	3,450	67,218	48,154
" white	13,626	1,800	1,344	11,770	500	15,470	13,570
" twilled	1,350	....	....	....	....	1,350	....
Chintzes	2,565	....	....	....	....	2,565	....
Handkerchiefs	68,613	....	....	....	....	68,613	....
Dyed Cottons	935	....	....	....	....	935	....
Cotton yarn .. .. .	....	2,040	5,107	1,425	....	5,107	3,465
" velvet .. .. .	....	2,040	....	....	....	....	2,040
Bicho-de-mar	24	39	....	....	....	24	39
Clocks, hardware, &c. value	1,480	....	2,200	....	....	1,680	....
Cotton .. .. .	....	....	3,429	6,639	....	3,429	6,639
Gum olibanum	364	425	....	....	....	364	425
Cloves .. .. .	....	64	....	....	....	....	64
Pepper	189	....	....	....	....	189	....
Putchuck	375	364	....	....	....	375	364
Rattans	1,632	300	....	....	2,504	4,136	300
Sandal wood	451	1,108	....	....	....	451	1,108

No. VI.—VALUATION of the Principal IMPORTS and EXPORTS in *British Vessels* at the Ports of CANTON, SHANGHAI, and AMOY, during the Years 1843-4, 1845, 1846, and 1847, taken from the Official Returns.

DESCRIPTION OF GOODS.	1843-4.	1845.	1846.	1847.
<i>Imports.</i>	\$	\$	\$	\$
Manufactures of Cotton, ...	4,039,182	2,450,482	2,755,223	1,470,296
Manufactures of Wool, ...	2,898,866	1,875,042	1,386,534	1,027,346
Raw Cotton, ...	683,654	313,835	792,876	830,756
Miscellaneous, ...	7,884,538	5,753,575	5,062,950	6,297,362
Canton, ...	\$ 15,506,240	10,392,934	9,997,583	9,625,760
Shanghai, ...	2,521,506	5,194,593	3,888,960	4,311,494
Amoy, ...	372,272	680,741	775,085	829,652
Grand Total, ...	\$ 18,400,018	16,263,268	14,661,628	14,766,906
<i>Exports.</i>				
Tea, ...	13,432,958	15,825,954	11,112,627	11,844,232
Silk, ...	2,172,263	2,424,897	1,344,286	2,007,770
Miscellaneous, ...	2,320,139	2,483,167	2,921,647	1,869,938
Canton, ...	17,925,360	20,734,018	15,378,560	15,721,940
Shanghai, ...	2,360,134	6,043,636	6,492,144	6,725,731
Amoy, ...	58,209	71,439	38,938	32,943
Grand Total, ...	\$ 20,343,703	26,849,093	21,909,642	22,480,619

No. VII.—Schedule of the shipping at Canton, Shanghai, and Amoy, during the years 1847 and 1848.

ARRIVALS.

Nation.	CANTON.				SHANGHAI.				AMOY.			
	1847.		1848.		1847.		1848.		1847.		1848.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
British.	221	88,376	171	72,345	76	19,361	76	22,966	39	7,619	24	6,599
American.	60	27,621	67	30,943	20	5,454	17	6,592	5	1,536	8	2,376
French.	7	2,018	1	237	..	..	..	..	1	145	1	304
Spanish.	2	580	1	350	2	671	4	1,265	14	2,641	9	1,510
Swedish.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	350
Portuguese.	..	..	3	357	..	..	..	..	44	2,544	30	2,236
Prussian.	2	405	..	..	1	330	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dutch.	7	2,548	5	1,662	2	569	1	365	4	823	5	1,185
Bremen.	2	469	..	..	..	..	3	850	..	..	1	170
Hamburg.	3	870	7	1,693	1	350	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sardinian.	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	420	..	..	..	..
Belgian.	..	..	1	375	..	..	1	340	..	..	1	310
Danish.	1	302	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	103	2	275
Miscellaneous.	7	2,237	5	2,230	..	..	1	230	1	206	..	..

DEPARTURES.

British.	213	84,757	176	73,975	75	18,914	67	18,916	9	2,244	20	4,724
American.	66	28,990	60	27,847	20	5,454	17	6,592	1	84	5	1,516
French.	7	2,018	1	237	..	..	..	..	1	145	1	304
Spanish.	2	580	1	350	2	671	4	1,265	11	1,796	8	1,371
Portuguese.	..	..	3	357	..	..	..	..	14	877	13	931
Prussian.	1	230	..	..	1	330	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dutch.	7	2,404	7	2,192	2	569	1	365	2	494	5	1,185
Bremen.	3	621	..	..	..	..	3	850	..	..	1	170
Hamburg.	2	630	4	833	1	350	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sardinian.	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	420	..	..	..	..
Belgian.	..	..	1	375	..	..	1	340	..	..	..	..
Danish.	1	302	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	275
Swedish.	1	206	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	350
Miscellaneous.	7	2,237	4	1,935	..	..	1	280	1	206	..	..

Most of the Portuguese vessels at Amoy were lorchas. The miscellaneous vessels consisted of Chilean, Peruvian, Malay, Hawaiian, and Siamese crafts.

ART. III. *Cultivation of the mulberry, and rearing the Silkworms.*

*Translated from the Tsán Sàng Hoh-pien 蠶桑合編 By ***

THE following instructions for cultivating the mulberry, and rearing silkworms, were issued by Wan Chû 文柱 the treasurer of Kiángsú in order to revive the silk manufacture in all its branches throughout the province under his jurisdiction; and it is altogether likely that the foreign demand for raw silk at Shánghái has suggested the present publication. It places the worthy magistrate in a pleasing light, one in which foreigners are not much in the habit of regarding the officers of China, that of an instructor and counsellor of the people under him, one desirous of carrying out in a measure the character of a "shepherd," or as the rulers here sometimes call themselves, of a "father and mother," of the blackhaired race. Seeing his work contains only twenty-four leaves, filled mostly with directions for

raising the trees, and rearing the worms, obtained doubtless from the best sources, we give a translation of nearly the whole of it, omitting a few unimportant prefatory remarks and directions. Wan's preface so fully explains his intentions that we give it entire.

"The taxes are heavier in Kiángnán than anywhere else in China, for in addition to those levied in summer and autumn, there are the expenses of inland transportation, so that the people have nothing left to lay by, and are obliged to exert themselves to meet these. The silk from this region supplies the empire with clothes; every year the market for silk is at Shwánglin 雙林 in Húchau fú, where traders from Kiángnán, Fuhkien, Chehkiáng, as well as foreigners from abroad, gather and trade to a great extent; so that although the exactions upon the land are heavy, yet the people are not wholly impoverished. In Táitsáng fú, and the region of Kiipáu 嘉寶, the taxes levied from cotton lands, if compared with those of the cities, are rather less, so that there is a little profit left after the outlay for tillage; and yet the cotton must have a sandy soil, while the mulberry will grow in every sort of land. Why then is it planted, on the south only in Chehkiáng, on the north only in Sungkiáng, and westward only in Húchau fú, a space about a thousand *li* square, beyond which limits there are no mulberries: will any one say the soil is unsuitable? Not to mention the districts of Wúkiáng 吳江 and Chintseh 震澤 in Súchau fú, where the mulberry and weaving occupy half the time and land of the husbandmen, even in the districts of Yhing 宜興 and Kingki 荆溪 belonging to Chángchau fú, and in that of the district of Lihyáng 溧陽 in Chínkiáng fú, there are markets for the sale of silk.

"There has lately been a farmstead established near the banks of the Great lake in the district of Tántú for cultivating the mulberry and rearing worms, which has succeeded admirably. Will any one say that in Kiángnán there are no advantageous openings left, when in the outskirts of villages, on dikes and banks, around the corners of walls, and along the sides of roads, are vacant spots without number, which can be occupied without any detriment to the growing of vegetables or grain? Will they say that every body is occupied, when poor women in this province are constantly going out in couples into the fields to wield the hoe and dig the ground, when if they were set at the feminine occupation of tending silkworms, they could themselves attend to their own affairs in the house, and not be forced out into the field; so that by diligently exerting themselves about a month in the year, and undergoing none of the hardships of the hus-

bandman's life, nor exposing themselves to the inconveniences of the weather, they would get more money in the house than by working in the field? If any say this business can not be learned, let them look abroad into the neighboring districts. It is only necessary to engage the services of a woman skilled in rearing the worms, and a gardener to set out the mulberries, who will instruct the boys and girls in those branches. It is evident that there is nothing to hinder carrying out these suggestions, either in the customs of the people or in the nature of the soil here, and that thus the profits of the mulberry will supply the deficiencies of the land-tax; and it is just as plain that it can be accomplished throughout the departments of Súc̄chau, Sungkiáng, and even in Chínghchau and Chínkiáng. Lately, the fúyuen of Shensí, H. E. Chin Wankung; Sung Jinpú, who ruled in Húkwáng; and the prefect of Síngyáng, Chau Yunkín, have all exhorted their people to raise silk;—how much better then can it be done in the regions of Kíángnán and Chehkiáng!

"I, Chú, the provincial treasurer, having lately been deeply considering how I could best relieve the straitened condition of the agriculturists of Kíngnán, and assist them in supplying the necessities of life, have sent orders into all parts of the province, and made these important things known by plain proclamations, and have also collected the most important works published upon the raising of silk by persons hereabouts, with the regulations of the silk establishment in Tántú, and printed them for distribution, adding plates and descriptions of the utensils used; these I have placed in all the subordinate magistracies. Does any one say, that Chin, Sung, and the other officers, carried out their plans where there was much unoccupied land and light taxes, and if we are to carry them out here, where the country is contracted, the people numerous, and the imposts onerous, are we to intermit agriculture and talk about the mulberry?—I reply, very true; but if such be the case, and the farmers have not income enough to meet their taxes, much more must they resort to the mulberry to supply the deficiency in grain.

"The tax on a *mau* ($\frac{2}{3}$ acre) of the best rice land is three *shih* (180 catties), on spring wheat lands one and a half *shih* (90 catties), and generally it is three *shih* per *mau*, with the slight additional charge of transportation; now one *mau* of the best mulberries furnishes leaves enough to feed ten baskets or more of worms, the second to rear four or five baskets, and the poorest supplies two or three baskets, so that when rice is cheap and silk dear, a basket of worms produces as much as a *mau* of rice land. If a man and woman laboring together cultivate eight *mau*

of mulberries, they will have, after paying their public dues and supplying their own family wants, a clear surplus of one half; besides which, a wine can be made from the berries, the twigs will furnish faggots, and the refuse of the worms can fatten pigs or manure the land; the borders of the plats supply room to grow melons, beans, vegetables, or other plants, so that eight *mau* planted with the mulberry will bring in as much as a hundred in the common mode of farming. Let the poor consider these things, and those who are straitened for room in this populous region, reflect; for what plan promises better than this? The proverb is, 'For three years spent in planting a mulberry, you have leaves from it for an age;' and Kwánts' says,

一年之計樹穀
十年之計樹木
百年之計樹人

Grain is sown, and its harvest yearly mown;
Trees are set, and their fruit through ten we get;
[Man is born, for a century he's formed.]

"Do not regard these things as belonging to people afar off, nor this as empty talk; even if there be no rules, there are men fit for rulers, and such clever men are fit to exercise power, such are they who rule!"

"Táukwáng, 24th year (1844). The preface of Wan Chú of Suiching in Kiángsí, the Treasurer of Kiángsú."

The worthy Treasurer has endeavored to strengthen his arguments by adding a second preface, the production of one Shá Shih-ngán, who goes into some exhortations upon the desirableness of the silk husbandry, but as his remarks are of little worth to us, we omit them, and proceed to the main body of the book, which we divide in the same manner as the original.

Selecting the mulberry. There are two kinds of mulberry, the *king* 荆 [from Húkwáng], and the *lú* 魯 [from Shántung]; the former has large leaves and few berries, with firm roots; the latter has small leaves, abundance of fruit, and tough branches. It is the best way to engraft the *lú* upon the *king* plant, by which the roots will be firm and the plants luxuriant.

Upon grafting. Select a branch of the *lú* sort, about three *tsun* long, cut it slanting from end to end, like a horse's ear, and then insert it under the bark of the *king*; bind them together with hemp and a thin coating of mud. When the moisture has exuded, try its firmness with the hands, rubbing it well on all sides. In the spring the buds will sprout, when only one shoot is to be kept, and by autumn the plant will be formed.

On transplanting and pruning. Each sapling should be at least five *chih* high, and they should be set out in a quincunx form; in the mild spring weather of the following year, cut them down to two *chih*, and clip off the top stem to force out the suckers, of which only two should be left to grow. In the third spring, the branches are again to be clipped, leaving only the upper to divide; and thus operate on the plant every spring, cutting away all the suckers except the upper fork; in the fifth or sixth year, the shoots will produce leaves for the silkworm, and the tree is sturdy and full-grown; every May the tree can be pruned at the knobbed ends of the branches, and the leaves collected with the twigs for the worms. If wet from rain, hang the branches in a draft of wind to dry before feeding them to the worms.

On pruning the mulberry. Cut away the central stock, and retain the four outer branches. The branches which hang down and shed water, those which incline inwards, all except one of the shoots growing from the same part, and the branches which grow too close, must be cut away. Next hoe the ground about the roots, and put in a basin full of manure made of the refuse oil cake, to force out the suckers, which in autumn will be about nine feet high. In the winter they must be covered thickly with manure and rich soil to insure a luxuriant crop of leaves in the spring.

Habits of the silkworm. It belongs to fire and dislikes water, therefore it eats, but does not drink; it is injured by noise and by dampness. The eggs should be kept where the temperature is low, and hatched where it is warm; it should be moderately warm to rouse them from their lethargy, and cool after they are awaked; as they grow old, the heat should be increased, and when they *juh tsau* 入簇 spin their cocoons, they should be very warm. The eggs, the small worms, and the spinning-worm should all be laid, be hatched, and work together. When rearing the silkworm, the place where they repose must be dark and dry, but made light when they awake; when feeding, supply them constantly with fresh leaves, but do not expose them to the wind on awaking, nor give them too many leaves at first. Smoke, and the smell of spirits, vinegar, and all sour things; as also the odor of musk and oil, the stench of mouldy clothes, should all be removed; in feeding, the worms dislike leaves that are damp or hot; and harsh noises, such as pounding rice. The eggs are hatched about the end of April, and in 27 days the worm attains full growth; if these things are attended to, the worms will be seldom ill, eat few leaves, and furnish much silk.

Cleansing the eggs, and rearing the young. About the middle of April, the eggs laid the previous year are to be put in pure, cold water, and after a quarter of an hour to be taken out; this is called *yuh tsán* 浴蠶 bathing the worms. Next spread them in an airy place, and when dry fold them first in paper, and then in cotton, and put them away in a clean and quiet spot, for a week. When they change to a light green color, examine them daily, and should a few worms prematurely make their appearance, brush them away. When two or three tenths of the whole batch of eggs are hatched, then, as before, wrap them in paper and cotton, for to keep them a day without food will do them no harm. On the following day spread them out in a warm place; and as the proper time for their coming forth is between 9 and 12 o'clock A. M., the whole batch is probably by this time hatched.

Directions for taking out the newly hatched worms. When the worms are all hatched, scatter mulberry leaves shred very fine over the eggs; and wait till the young worms creep upon them, when they are to be taken up with a pair of *tsán chú* 蠶箸 or silkworm tweezers, and gently removed to another place; a goose feather should not be used to do this. If the worms are not all hatched at once, wrap the eggs in paper as before, and open them on the morrow; lay the young that are hatched by themselves, and do not mix them with those that were first produced. Lay them evenly and rather near to each other, but at equal distances. After the second removal, if any eggs still remain unhatched, throw them away. Now weigh the whole lot of young worms with the empty shells, and afterwards weigh the shells to ascertain the exact weight of the worms. One tael's weight of worms generally produces from 150 to 160 taels' weight of silk, and will require twenty *shih* of mulberry leaves; and this proportion of leave should be maintained in feeding them to the worms.

Directions for feeding the silkworms. Cut the leaves fine with a knife, and then wash your hands clean; the worms require feeding five or six times in one day and night. Before giving them fresh food, wait till the old is quite consumed, and give only a little at once. After feeding, place them where they will be protected by a curtain from the wind and cold. Put the worms on the trays, and place these horizontally on the drying frame, and do not place them on top of each other to gather dampness and become sickly.

Particular attention must be paid to the temperature, for if too cold, the worms grow slowly; if too hot, they shrivel. The proper heat should be applied gradually, otherwise the worms will become yellow

and soft; when cooling them, admit the wind slowly and gradually through the windows, otherwise they will blanch, or become rigid; when suddenly chilled, and they refuse to eat, a little fire should be lighted, as it should be if the weather be wet and cold, before feeding them. The leaves should be gathered early in the morning, or after sunset; for by eating damp leaves the worms are purged and turn white, while hot leaves produce costiveness, and swelled heads; in either case they produce no cocoons, nor come to maturity.

Diminishing the food and sleeping. If the worms are indisposed to sleep, they ought to be put to sleep as soon as possible. If from one third to a half of them are of a yellow color, or have glistening skins, then diminish the leaves three to five tenths, and cut them much finer and feed them oftener; if three fourths be of this color, diminish the leaves in the same proportion, chopping them very fine and feeding the worms more frequently. If there be a few light green or white worms which do not sleep, throw them away, and remove the remainder to a quiet place when they will stop feeding. When the whole are awake, feed them, but if only eight or nine tenths are awake, wait a while before feeding, for a little hunger will not hurt them. On awaking, do not jostle them, for their skins are easily injured. Care must also be taken that the wind does not reach them, and that they be constantly furnished with leaves.

Feeding the worms, and removing the refuse. Soon after the worms issue forth, scatter finely cut fresh leaves over them, and they will crawl up to eat, when both worm and leaf can be gently taken up with the worm tweezers, and placed on the tray above. Now examine carefully for the worms still curled under the leaves and then throw the refuse away. After the second sleep, again gently raise the worms and leaves with the hand, to the next layer, the leaves not being cut too fine. After the third sleep, if the weather is mild, they may be taken out of the house, being carefully protected from the wind. After the next sleep, put a silkworm's net over the worms, and scatter the leaves upon it, when the worms will crawl up to eat them; feed them twice this way, and then let two men place both net and worms on an empty basket. Next brush off the leaf stalks and refuse, so that the worms shall not be injured by the steam or dampness. Whilst the worms are asleep, put them on a broad tray; to every three catties of worms furnish a hundred of leaves, and the yield will be 5 catties of cocoons, the silk from which will amount to 8 or 9 taels. If after this, the leaves be reduced one tenth, the produce of silk will be reduced in like proportion. After the fourth or longest sleep, if the

weather be very warm, the worms will require feeding only five days before arriving at maturity; but seven days if it be moderately cool. First place the mature worms on the straw whisk, feeding them there once more with leaves; and in about half a day, they arrive at maturity. Whether the worms sleep three or four times, the rules for feeding are the same.

Directions for putting the worms upon the bush. Take stalks of the late glutinous rice, make them smooth, and bind them about the middle, and then cut the whole off even about two feet long. Next take a bamboo bench and lay a coarse matting over it that will bear these whisks of straw set up on their ends. Now put the old worms inside a wide varnished tray, and with very clean hands take out the worms, and spread them evenly over the matting not too close, nor too far apart. Should it be rainy or cold, place a hot fire under the bench to warm them, whereby the cocoons will be sooner formed, and ready for unwinding. If fire is used, the cocoons will be easier unwound. In five days, select the cocoons, taking off the matted cover, and unwinding the silk; take great care not to let the worms become damp, for this will hinder their spinning. When the worms are sleeping, honor the patroness of silkworms by burning incense, and at the last sleep worship her with spirits, incense, candles, vegetables, and rice flour balls made into the shape of cocoons.

Rules regarding the yuen tsán 原蠶 or second brood of worms. This brood of worms is not always reared, partly because the leaves are few so late in the season, and to strip the trees a second time will injure them and lessen the next year's crop; and partly because of the many occupations of the season; but if the first brood fails, and there are leaves, this can be reared. Still more care and diligence in feeding and cleaning is to be pursued with these; they come to maturity in 21 or 22 days; exercise great caution against the blue-bottle flies and excessive heat. The first brood in spring need heat, but those reared during summer require to be kept cool.

Directions respecting the eggs. When rearing worms, carefully select healthy young ones, and having properly fed them to maturity, choose out those which are the strongest, healthiest and best, when they are just ready to spin. Five days after the cocoons are formed, the thickest ones on the tops of the whisks of straw are to be taken, and the wooly covering peeled off. Equal numbers of males and females must be taken; the former are small, sharp pointed, and a little contracted; the latter are round, full, and large. Place them apart on flat baskets, till they turn into moths. Those with round wings, bald

eyebrows, the tail yellow, and the belly reddish and bare of hair, throw away as worthless, together with those which first take wing, and the very last ones produced; keeping only the perfect and good to lay eggs. The moths appear early in the morning, and they are left to pair for six or seven hours, when the males are thrown away, and the females carefully cleaned and laid on thick sheets of paper previously prepared, and hung upon a board; the female moths are arranged evenly upon it, and remain until their eggs are laid. Those laid before six o'clock are strong, but those laid after that hour are not worth much. The moths are now taken away, and the paper holding the *tsán lien* 蠶連 or eggs, hung up in an airy place until they change color. Now wash them in pure water, and dry them, and then gently roll the eggs in papers of ashes to imbibe any moisture, and hang the parcels in a high place where they will not gather dampness, nor be exposed to smoke. In the middle of autumn take away the ashes, and in the early part of January, make a decoction of mulberry leaves, and when cooled soak the eggs in it for about a quarter of an hour; after this, dry and hang them up as before in papers of ashes.

Twelve directions for reeling silk.—First. Fill an earthen jar with river water, about half a month before you wish to use it, and let it settle. Spring or stagnant water is said not to be so good as river and running water; but if it is needed immediately, fill the jar and put in a pint of limpets to clear it; but do not use alum for this purpose.

Second. The furnace is prepared by plastering the bottom and sides of an old pan with clay, making it four fingers in thickness at the mouth, sloping off thinner at the rims. When dry, fill it almost full of water, and gently heat it. One work says, "the hot pan is not so good as the cold pan, but no one now uses the cold pan;—and adds, that formerly the pan was partitioned by a board, so that two could reel from it." Light a fire of dry wood, and as the water warms, see whether the cocoons float or sink; if the first, diminish the heat, if otherwise, increase it; the fire should be uniform.

Third. The wooden reeling-frame (*sz' ché chwang* 絲車牀) is placed by the side of the furnace at the same level and kept steady by a stone laid on it; the right side is the most convenient to turn the wheel of the reel, which should itself be made firm.

Fourth. Put the cocoons in the warm water, and stir and roll them about gently with the hands to raise up the ends of the filaments, which catch with the left hand. Keep hold of the coarse filaments, and move the cocoons several times on the water which will unravel

them, and shortly the pure fine silk will be found lying beneath. Then gently take away the coarse ends; and holding the fine silk end in one hand, with a perforated ladle in the other, keep the cocoons in the water, and in this manner wind the silk on the wheel.

Fifth. The ends of the filaments are numerous, and in reeling off eight or ten should be taken up together, and their ends all passed through the eye on the frame, and drawn over the running spools down to the hook, and thence to the reel. Commence reeling, by first taking up the threads in the left hand in order to keep them from tangling, and then turn the reel by the footboard; before the threads reach the horizontal wire, they must be kept smooth and even by the hands. The shell sinks when the filament is nearly wound off, and as the thread near it is of an inferior quality, another cocoon should be taken up, and its thread joined on according to the judgment of the winder, for it is very important that the thread be wound off even. When the worm can be seen inside of the cocoon through the shell, and the silk is about as thick as a sheet of paper, throw it away. Fresh cocoons should be put in betimes, for the silk is inferior near the chrysalis, and often gnawed by the worm.

Sixth. In reeling the silk, if the threads break and the cocoons scatter, collect them again soon, and shake them about to find the ends, and join them on at different places (that is, where there is more than one broken thread at a time do not join both at the same place), taking care that the thread be of a uniform thickness.

Seventh. While reeling the silk, put red burning charcoal in an earthen basin a little distance from the reel to dry it; one person should attend to the fire, and it should not be brought too near.

Eighth. The warm water in which the cocoons lie as they are wound off should be frequently changed, by taking out carefully from one side about one third of the dirty water, and pouring in an equal quantity of fresh warm water. One man should have the sole charge of changing the water.

Ninth. The cords (connecting the reel, &c.) are frequently troublesome, and require occasionally to be moistened with water in order to keep them tight, as the silk in reeling will then be more evenly spread out upon the reel, and thus easier to unwind than it would be if reeled in a lump, for then it would be almost impossible to disentangle it.

Tenth. The old method for taking the silk off the reel was to tie a hempen strap loosely about the handle and axle that it might not get too much out of place; then with a mallet beat off the head, and slip the reel and silk from the frame, with the cloth on which it lies.

Eleventh. Those cocoons with raveled clues, which frequently break while winding them, should be dried at the hand stove, then soaked in boiling water, and reeled. The raw raveling (*sang tsán* 生參) kind, which frays out in winding, should not be placed in cold water, but put in warm water for reeling. Those which are *shuh tsán* 熟參 or mature, and become frayed in the thread, should be thrown away when half unwound. There are some kinds whose filaments float about in cool water, and fray out in hot water (so the water must be prepared accordingly). The cocoons of wild silkworms must be first dried in the sun, and then put in boiling water to soak them thoroughly, where they are to be well stirred to loosen the ends. Take a portion off the straw whisk, and put them in the pan to reel them; when half reeled off, put in the other part from the straw whisk and join their threads on; be careful to keep the water in the pan only lukewarm.

Twelfth. Some of the cocoons are not suitable to produce silk for weaving, but the covering can be peeled off for floss silk. To boil them, filter lye from the ashes of straw till it is very clean; then heat water to boiling and put the cocoons in; when they are boiled through, put a cup of fragrant oil into a large rice bowl, and pour in the lye till it is full, and then take out one half of the mixture and sprinkle it in the boiler; when it has bubbled up several times, stir the cocoons around in it; now pour the remainder of the oil and lye into the boiler and boil the whole: when it is thought the cocoons are boiled thoroughly, and while they are still hot, take them out and put them into river water in a sieve to wash them clean. Now peel off the silk from the cocoons with the hands.

East of the town of Tántú 丹徒 in the department of Chinkiang, there is a factory for employing people to rear the mulberry and silkworm, over which superintendents are placed to manage its affairs for the public, and keep an account of the receipts and outlays, which has issued these four rules.

“*First.* To raise the best mulberries graft them; they are full grown in the third year. Plants from Húchau fú 湖州府 in Chelkiáng are the best, as they have been already grafted, and require less attention. About December, hire skillful hands from Lihyáng 溧陽 district, and let them go and buy the plants from Húchau; they must warrant them to succeed. *Second.* The next year, when the mulberries have grown large, hire old women of Lihyáng to come to the factory and instruct girls in the art of rearing the silkworm. *Third.*

The term of leasing the land is ten years, and the rent is paid yearly. Each *mau* contains forty plants, which after the second year should produce thirty catties of leaves each; five shrubs will furnish leaves enough to feed worms which will produce a catty of silk; and one *mau* will thus produce eight catties of silk, enough to make twenty pieces of silk cloth, which, after deducting all charges for rent and living, will leave almost fifty per cent. profit. *Fourth.* Let those gentlemen who have received shares, each make efforts to get their friends and acquaintances to subscribe, to whom the superintendent will give a receipt from the hall for their subscriptions, large or small; after three years, the yearly interest of ten per cent. with the principal, will all be refunded. If the women who labor in the hall wish to deposit their earnings, a ticket will be given them, and fifteen per cent. interest will be paid them monthly, and their capital refunded at the end of three years."

Twelve bye-laws adopted in the establishment at Tántú are given by the Treasurer after these four regulations relating to funds, which we need not repeat. From them we should infer that it bears a great resemblance to a joint-stock company, and if it declares such dividends as are here mentioned, it must be a profitable investment, and encourage the formation of similar concerns elsewhere.

The pamphlet before us contains drawings of the principal implements used in the various processes, with minute letter-press descriptions of their dimensions, material, and modes of using. The reel and its separate parts are figured, together with the baskets, nets, sieves, ladders, trays, brooms, knives, &c., &c., employed in the several manipulations of rearing the worms, and cultivating the mulberry; so that, with his excellency's pamphlet as guide, any one could carry on the business. It may be remarked in conclusion, as evidence of the goodness of the Chinese directions, that M. Camille Beauvais, an eminent silk-grower in France, remarks in his prefatory note to M. Julien's digest of Chinese authors on the subject, "That they lose hardly one worm in a hundred, while in France the mortality exceeds fifty per cent." The same gentleman has successfully adopted two of the processes made known through M. Julien's labors, which are also insisted on in this treatise, viz. the frequent feeding of the worms, and their simultaneous issue from the eggs. A perusal of the work of M. Julien, most of which is extracted from the *Shau-shi Tung-kiáu*, or Encyclopædia of Agriculture, will show the reader that the directions given by the Treasurer of Kiángsú have long been known among this people.

ART. IV. *Cruise of the U. S. sloop-of-war Preble, commander James Glynn, to Napa and Nagasaki.*

THE *Preble* left Hongkong Feb. 12th, but was obliged to return to port almost immediately on account of the small-pox, and did not finally leave her anchorage until March 22d; she returned May 20th, having touched at Lewchew Is., Nagasaki, Shánghái, and Amoy, and accomplished the main object of her visit to Japan. From her commander and several of her officers, we have gathered the following particulars of her interesting cruise.

She reached Napa about the 10th of April, where she remained upwards of three days, during which time her officers availed of the opportunity to ramble over the environs of the town, visit the capital Shudi or Shu-i, and see a good deal of the island and its inhabitants. Doct. Betelheim came off to the ship as soon as she anchored, and received the supplies which Capt. Glynn had kindly brought for him from Hongkong. The same system of passive opposition is still kept up by the authorities of Lewchew towards the Doctor, who is thereby prevented from having much intercourse with the people; they are ordered to avoid him whenever he appears in the streets, to sell him nothing, do him no harm, and keep away from his house on Capstan Pt.; and the execution of these commands is enforced by the presence of an underling, who accompanies him whenever he stirs abroad. His position is therefore extremely irksome, and the effect of regulations like these upon the people must naturally be to produce dislike towards a man who causes them so much inconvenience, notwithstanding their conviction of his kindness and good intentions. The authorities made a written request to Capt. Glynn to take him from the island, but he has no wish himself to leave; on the contrary, he has repeatedly requested his Society to send him an assistant, confident that then one of the mission could take longer excursions into the country, and even visit the northern part of the island, while the other remained at home. We hope Doct. Betelheim will be enabled to keep at his post, until a reinforcement arrives; if he should leave Napa, it will be doubly difficult for another to secure a footing there.

The Lewchewans seem to be placed in a most unlucky position between the Japanese and Chinese governments, both of which claim a sort of paternal surveillance over them (which in the former takes a stronger form of almost suzerain authority), allowing the islanders

a little trade with their respective ports of Fuhchau and Kagosima by way of return, and interfering in almost everything which concerns them. The Japanese requested Captain Glynn to keep away from Napa in future, and inform his superiors they must send no more vessels there; and it is said Gov. Sii has intimated to Gov. Bonham that his master desires British men-of-war not to go there. Meanwhile the Lewchewans themselves are evidently afraid to irritate their formidable visitors, or even to deport Doct. Beilheim against his will; they would not sell the *Preble* any supplies, and her captain refused to take any unless he could pay for them; though on one occasion, a few were received aboard ship during his absence, to pay for which he sent an officer who left the money on shore in their hands.

From Napa, the *Preble* sailed for Nagasaki, and made land April 17th. Her appearance was announced to the authorities of that town immediately, and a boat was seen approaching as soon as she anchored. This unusual haste, as well as the repeated inquiries subsequently made whether there was not another vessel in company, were not fully explained until Captain Glynn learned at Shánghái, that the ship *Natchez* had passed through the straits of Van Diemen only the day before his arrival. A Japanese boarding-officer, Moreaina Einasaka, hailed the ship in English, to say she must anchor in a place he pointed out until the governor's order could be received: but Captain Glynn told him that place was unsafe, as well as his present anchorage, and he should stand in until he gained a safe berth inside the harbor. When the ship had reached the offing abreast Happenberg I., the man hailed her, saying, "You may anchor where you please." On coming aboard when the ship was first hailed, he inquired why the *Preble* came to Japan, and that question being evaded, he asked the captain if he received a paper. "No. One of your boats came alongside, and threw a bamboo stick on deck, in which was thrust a paper; but if it was intended for me, that is not the proper manner to communicate with me, and I ordered it to be thrown overboard. Why do you choose this method of sending me a letter?" In the usual style of Japanese officials after a thing has been done, the interpreter replied, "That was right! That was right! But our laws require that all ships should be notified of certain things. This was a common man; he had his orders as I have mine from the chiefs over me, and you must not blame him." The paper here alluded to contained the following warning to ships, directions where they are to anchor, and what questions they are to answer, which we copy verbatim.

Warning to the respective commanders, their officers, and crew of the vessels approaching the coast of Japan, or anchoring near the coast, in the bays of the Empire.

During the time foreign vessels are on the coast of Japan or near as well as in the bay of Nagasaki, it is expected, and likewise ordered that every one of the Ship's company will behave properly towards, and accost civilly the Japanese subjects in general. No one may leave the vessel, or use her boats for cruising or landing on the islands, or on the main coast, and ought to remain on board until further advice from the Japanese Government has been received. It is likewise forbidden to fire guns, or to use other fire-arms on board the vessel as well as in their boats. Very disagreeable consequences might result, in case the aforesaid should not be strictly observed.

The Governor of Nagasaki.

To the Commander of the Vessel approaching this Empire under Dutch or other Colors.

By expressly order of the Governor of Nagasaki, you are requested, as soon as you have arrived near the Northern Cavallos, to anchor there at a safe place, and to remain until you will have received further advice. Very disagreeable consequences might result, in case this order should not be strictly observed.

Desima, ———
The Reporters attached to
the Superintendent's office.

Translated by the Superintendent
of the Netherlands' trade in Japan.

L. S.

To the commander of the vessels approaching this Empire (Japan), sailing under Dutch or other colors.

By expressly order of the Governor of Nagasaki, you are requested as soon as you have arrived near the Northern Cavallos, to anchor there at a safe place, and to remain there until you'll have received further advice.

Please to answer as distinctly, and as soon as possible, the following questions :

What's the name of your vessel ?

What's her tonnage ?

What's the number of her crew ?

Where do you come from ?

What's the date of your departure ?

Have you any wrecked Japanese on board ?

Have you any thing to ask for, as water, firewood, &c., &c. ?

Are any more vessels in company with you bound for this Empire ?

Desima,

By order of the Governor of Nagasaki.

L. S. Upper Reporter.

Translated by the Superintendent

L. S. Under Reporter.

of the Netherlands' trade in Japan.

After the Preble had anchored, a military officer, named Serai Tats-nosen came aboard to learn her errand. His rank and credentials were carefully examined as a preliminary step, after which full particulars of the nation, object, and character, of the ship were told him through the same interpreter Moreama Einaska, who spoke tolerably good English, but understood only as much as he wanted to. This chief was told that the commander of the Preble came with written instructions to bring away sixteen American seaman cast upon the Japanese coast ; this announcement called forth a series of questions from him about the manner in which the shipwreck and number of the men was ascertained, who sent the Preble after them, &c., &c.

Capt. Glynn replied in general terms, and endeavored to learn how long his countrymen had been there, what treatment they had received, and why two of them had died; but the intrepeter parried these interrogatories, in a very trifling manner. A promise was elicited, however, that he would inquire of the governor, H. E. Edo Tsokinano, whether the men would be delivered up without the delay of referring to Yedo. The standing inquiry was made if the ship was in need of anything, but the chief was told that no provisions, fuel, or water, could be received unless the Japanese would take pay, as it was against the laws of the United States for a national vessel to receive anything in the way of presents. He declined the proposal to exchange salutes, saying, They were never made, nor the compliment ever given either by French or English men-of-war.

During the night, everything was quiet in the harbor, but in the morning of the 19th, a large number of boats were seen under the land, and the forts near the entrance of the channel up to town were manned with more men. These forts are even less skillfully built than the Chinese, the walls consisting of small unhewn stones, and the guns placed at such an elevation up the hill that a discharge would be sure to turn them quite over. Their battlements were, however, turned to a much more peaceful use than to train guns upon to drive away the *Preble*, for during her stay, many parties of the people came there to look at her, as a substitute for the prohibition to visit her.

A military officer, Matsmora Shai, came off to salute Capt. Glynn on behalf of the governor. The captain observed it was uncivil, and argued very little confidence in his promise to observe the regulations of the port to place a cordon of armed boats around his ship, while free intercourse and reciprocal civility would tend to a better acquaintance and mutual goodwill between the Japanese and other countries.—“Why are American men-of-war sent so far from home?”—was the only rejoinder, as if nothing had been said to him. He was made fully acquainted, however, with the condition of the American navy, and the size, armament, and crew of the one then in port; but the evasions made by the intrepeter to the queries put to him were characteristic of this suspicious people—a people among whom the system of espionage and mutual responsibility has well-nigh destroyed everything like frankness, truth, and confidence. No one of the officials on board seemed to know anything upon any other subject than their master's message; for though one of them had been at Yedo and seen the emperor, he could give no idea of his age, nor of the distance there. One of the surest ways of succeeding with the Japanese is to

imitate them in this respect, and convey to them the impression that you are obliged to carry out your orders, and know nothing beside what you were sent to execute. Before this chief left, Capt. Glynn gave him a letter to the governor, in which he made a formal demand for the men, and requested his excellency to inform them of the Preble's arrival.

The same officer did not return till the 22d, and on coming aboard, after salutations had passed, he was asked if he had the governor's answer, to which he replied, "It would come another time, not now." He was told that neither a verbal answer, nor a messenger would be received as satisfactory; to which he said that, according to Japanese usage, he had come to speak by word of mouth. He was pressed to say definitely when the men would be given up, and was told that if they were not soon handed over, the instructions of his superior would oblige Capt. Glynn to take other measures, for he must get them. The necessity of referring to Yedo was constantly thrown in to account for the delay which might take place before they came on board; but when about to leave, he said an answer would come from the governor the next day, and an intimation whether a reference must be made to Yedo. An example of the caution of these officials was exhibited when they were requested to take a packet of newspapers to Mr. Levyssohn, the opperhoofd at Desima, for which they had already obtained permission, but not to take a letter with it; they demurred a long time, but finding that the papers which they felt bound to take could not be carried away without the letter, the chief at last took upon himself the immense responsibility of carrying them both ashore. A ridiculous instance of their duplicity was also shown. The captain was desirous of getting some fossil coal, and when the chief went over the ship, he was purposely taken by the forge, and asked if he had any of the substance ashore there used to heat iron. "No. What a curious stone it is!" The officer wrapped a large lump in a paper for him to carry ashore, but he begged him not to rob the small stock remaining, and would take only a bit of the rare mineral, carefully depositing it in his sleeve. We think the fool must have laughed in his sleeve at his supposed success in making the foreigners think the people of Nagasaki had no coal, when it is their chief fuel.

A semi-official reply was received from Mr. Levyssohn in the afternoon, stating that he had been requested to translate the letter to the governor of Nagasaki, and having been told that special permission from Court was necessary before the men could be delivered to a man-of-war, he had intimated the necessity of giving them up, and

had proposed to receive them himself, after having had an interview with the commander of the *Preble*. To this note, a reply was immediately returned, expressing a hope that the proposed conference would take place. Meanwhile, the cordon of guard-boats was increased and drawn nearer the ship; torches were lighted in each one by night placed in pans at the end of long poles, to observe if any person attempted to swim ashore, and as many precautions were taken to prevent intercourse as if the vessel had had the plague.

On the 23d, Serai Tatsnosen returned. He remarked that Mr. Levyssohn had had an interview with the governor, and proposed to obviate the need of referring to Yedo by taking the men himself, and would come aboard in two days upon the matter. Capt. Glynn told him this mode of answering an official note was very improper, and the commander of the *Preble* could only confer with the governor, and could not be put off and delayed in this manner with vain excuses, concluding his reply by asking, "Am I to get the men?"—"This can not be. Why not stay a few days? You will get the men, *I think*." This last phrase formed a part of almost every remark of the interpreter, and when questioned if the men would come aboard in two days, he said again, "I can not say how long it will be, *I think* you will get your sailors." Some little hesitancy was exhibited by the Japanese officials, before they remarked that Capt. Glynn could not see Mr. Levyssohn, for he was ill; and that it *was* necessary for the governor to get permission from Yedo before giving up the men. Upon receiving this answer, the commander of the *Preble* sternly told the chief, That is enough; the ship can stay at Nagasaki no longer; its commander has business only with the governor of that city, and knows nothing of the Dutch factory in this business, and he will get under weigh in a few hours, and leave to report his reception to his superior, and to his own government which had sent him there, and well knew how to recover its citizens, and had the power to do so. Hearing this decided language, the chief seemed to lose his imperturbable nonchalance, and said he would exert all his influence to get the men soon, adding, "I *think* you may expect it . . ."—"Stop! You have had time enough to think, and I'll do the thinking now," replied the captain; "do you promise me now, that the men shall be delivered up in three days from this, for I will stay no longer?" Thus pressed, the governor's messenger promised that in three days they should be handed over to the American commander, whereupon the parties shook hands. The chief afterwards walked over the vessel, inspected the crew at general quarters, &c., and then took his leave.

On the 25th, the chief Matsumora Schai returned, and on taking his seat, remarked that Mr. Levyssohn being too sick to come off, had sent a substitute, who was in the boat alongside, and he wished to know if he might come on board. Capt. Glynn directed the officer to go to the gangway and invite him to come up, but Moreama, the interpreter, interfered, and said it was necessary for *him* to give him permission to do so. This gentleman, Mr. Bassle, brought a letter from Mr. Levyssohn, offering a quantity of provisions, which Capt. Glynn was of course compelled to decline, as he had already told the authorities he must pay for what he took. Mr. B. also brought some Japanese official documents in Dutch, with four signatures and seals attached to them, which he orally translated.

One of them was an informal reply from the governor, through the opperhoofd, in which after reciting the names of the sailors, he says it has been represented at Court that the men were to be sent away by the next Dutch ship, and are now handed over to the superintendent to be surrendered to the American man-of-war; but though they (the sailors) reported that their ship was wrecked, yet the law of Japan strictly forbids any person voluntarily approaching its shore; and as it is plain that long voyages can not be taken in boats, in future persons coming ashore in this manner will be carefully examined. The governor adds that these men were provided for, and yet in violation of the laws of the land, broke out of their residence several times, and escaped into the country, but were recaptured and pardon granted to them; and concludes by requesting the superintendent to inform the American commander that whalers from his country are not to resort to the Japanese seas, as the present case, and one in 1847, show that they are becoming more numerous.

The other paper seemed to be a report of their guard, and contained a notice of the arrival near the island of Lisili, belonging to Yesso, within the principality of Matsmai, of fifteen North American whalers, who asked for assistance, and had a residence given them. It then detailed the several occasions on which these men had broken out of their "residence," and been retaken, and forgiven after they had asked pardon; they were instructed to behave properly, and promised to obey the warning. Their repeated attempts to break out compelled the Japanese authorities to take them away from the temple and put them in prison, though not only had they themselves promised to be quiet, but the Dutch superintendent had cautioned them to remain easy until they were liberated. After reciting the time, nature, and result of the diseases each one had suffered, it concluded with saying

that their incarceration was wholly owing to their own restiveness. Soon after the reading of these documents, and their delivery to Capt. Glynn, the party left the ship.

A new visitor, Hagewara Matasak, came on the 26th with Moreama, to announce to Capt. Glynn that the men would be given up according to promise, and inquiring with some earnestness if he would then sail. The positive assurance that this would be done seemed to relieve him vastly; and he then proceeded to say that Capt. Glynn's request to visit Mr. Levyssohn on shore had been communicated to the governor, who had refused to grant permission, as it was against the laws of Japan. He was told that this was enough, and the question was then asked if the laws of Japan were in a book. "No, No! Not so; the French and Dutch put their laws in books, but our governor gives us the law."—"Did your governor give you the law prohibiting foreigners visiting the Dutch factory at Desima, or did the emperor make it?"—asked Capt. Glynn. He was told that this was an imperial regulation, and when a copy of Ingersoll's Digest of the Laws of the United States was offered to him for his acceptance, he again quoted law to decline taking it. The number and object of American vessels which yearly resorted to the Japanese waters was then stated, and on this subject the chief was evidently interested.

After this conversation, a boat bearing the Netherlands flag came alongside, and Mr. Bassle and another gentleman come on board, bringing some papers in Dutch signed by the four head Japanese interpreters, which Mr. B. orally translated. One of them contained an extract from the laws to the following effect:

"When shipwrecked foreigners have no means of returning home, they are allowed to sojourn, and their wants are provided for; and on their arrival here they are to be sent back to their country by the Dutch Superintendent, which is thus fixed by the law. This being duly considered, it is accordingly not allowed in future to land in the Japanese Empire."

Shortly after this, the Japanese officers and the whole party took their leave, and the boat containing the shipwrecked mariners came alongside, and they on deck. Their names were Robert McCoy of Philadelphia; John Bull of Kempville, N. Y.; Jacob Boyd of Springfield, N. J.; John Martin of Rochester, N. Y.; John Waters of Oahu; and Melchar Bissar of New York, Americans; Harry Barker, James Hall, Manna, Mokea, Steam, Jack, and Hiram, Hawaiians, all formerly belonging to the ship *Ledoga*; and Randal M'Donald of Astoria, belonging to the ship *Plymouth*. The cunning of the Japanese in

deferring the delivery until they had finished all their own conferences, and placed themselves in security aboard their own boats, was very evident, as thereby all charges brought by their misused prisoners would fall harmless upon them. They may have been conscious that a conference upon the deck of the *Preble* might be unpleasant, and they placed at a disadvantageous equality with those whom they had so badly treated.

The narrative of the imprisonment of these unhappy mariners shows the cruelty of the Japanese government, and the necessity of making some arrangement with it involving the better usage of those who are cast upon its shores. The men told their story to Capt. Glynn in a straightforward manner, which carried conviction with it; and we are happy in being able to furnish the follow account compiled from their depositions.

It appears that the men from the *Ladoga* deserted her on account of ill usage, and went off in three boats about June 5th, 1843, near the straits of Sangar; they cruised along the coast of Yesso, and landed to get food and water, but being refused, put to sea and landed again about three miles north, where the villagers built them three mat sheds, and supplied them with food. On the morning of the 7th, an officer inquired why they had come there, and gave them permission to stay till a northerly wind blew to carry them away; and meanwhile ordered a calico screen to be put up, and guards posted, to prevent them going into or seeing the adjoining country. These soldiers were armed with swords and matchlocks, and their superiors were cased in mail and Japanned helmets or hats made of paper, and resembling broad-brimmed quaker hats; the men carried the match for their matchlocks at their waist.

The shipwrecked sailors were supplied with about 160 *lbs.* of rice and some firewood; on the next morning they put to sea again, pulling and sailing down the coast, everywhere perceiving that the country was aroused, and keeping off until they were invited ashore by a boat from a village near where they had first landed; here they found three mat inclosures run up for their reception since they came in sight, and were told they could stay there till the wind became fair. On the afternoon of the 9th, on attempting to go aboard their boats, they found they were prisoners, and the reasons assigned for detaining them were that an officer wished to speak to them, and that their boats were so frail and small they would all perish, but that in twenty days a larger vessel would be furnished them. Their luggage was all brought ashore and ticketed, and placed within a house in the village; five days after they were again removed to a prison, and so ridiculously afraid were the Japanese of foreigners looking at their possessions, that these fifteen unarmed sailors were conducted to their lodging through a file of armed soldiers lining both sides of the street.

Here the men remained quiet till the twenty days were up, constantly in charge of a guard, and restrained from walking about, at which time they were told no vessel would be ready until twenty days more had elapsed; at the expiration of this second period, they were informed that they would not be allowed

to leave the place till January, and their application to be permitted to depart in their own boats was refused. Finding that no dependance could be placed in the assertions of the Japanese, McCoy and Bull made their escape from the prison, intending if possible to reach the coast and get to sea in a boat; but they were captured in the first village they approached to ask for food, and taken back to their comrades. A while after their return, on the occurrence of a quarrel, the guard nailed Bull into a grated crib by himself for ten days; the cage was too low for him to stand up, and when he hallooed to his comrades, violating the orders of his keepers not to speak, he was jammed at with a stick to compel him to be quiet; for four days out of these ten he was unable to eat.

While he was in this cage, McCoy and Martin made their escape, but were soon arrested on the coast, though not before McCoy had swam out a distance from the shore; they were both put in a crib or cage by themselves after they were brought back, and Bull added to their company. Here they remained twenty-five days, fed through a hole just large enough to admit a cup. Martin was taken out once, after some high words had passed between him and the others, and thrown on the ground; standing on him, the Japanese bound his arms, and then raised him up and secured him to a post, where they beat him with the bight of a rope over his face and head; after which he was returned to his cage, at the intercession of his incensed companions, who endeavored to break out.

About the 10th of August, the men were all removed on board a junk, the three just mentioned being put into a cage between decks only 5 ft. high, 6 ft. long, and 4 ft. broad; the other twelve men were stowed in a second cage 12 by 10 ft. square, and high enough to stand up in. In these cribs they were kept during the passage to Nagasaki where they arrived about Sept. 1st; they made every objection to going ashore, and asked for their own boats that they might try to reach China in them. Moreama, the government interpreter, among other falsehoods, told them they should be carefully taken care of ashore, and in six weeks forwarded to Batavia in the Dutch-ship. One could have a little more patience with a people like the Japanese, if to their cruelty in carrying out regulations which they suppose necessary for their national safety, they did not add such gratuitous mendacity to delude the unfortunates in their power. The men were questioned on board of the junk, and then carried to the "town-house of Nagasaki," as they call it, in *kago* or chairs; as each man entered the door, he was compelled to step on a crucifix in the ground, and if he showed any dislike to tread on the sacred emblem, a Japanese attendant on each side pulled him back, or lifted him up, until both feet had rested on it. McCoy was told that if any of the men had refused to go through this ceremony, he would have been put into an iron house, from which death would be his only exit. Boyd was pulled from one side to the other, as he showed some dexterity at dodging it, until he was forcibly fixed by his guard upon it. When in the town-house, they were made to squat down, and shortly a hissing sound announced the governor's approach. They told him in brief they were shipwrecked Americans; but as it was now dark, the examination soon closed, and they were carried to a temple about a mile from the town, where they were lodged in a room surrounded by a fence 30 feet high, beyond which was a wall 8 or 10 feet high; their guard lodged under the same roof, separated from them by a grating. These accommodations were not so bad and strait as the cages and junk.

In a day or two they were all again carried to the town-house, and questioned

more minutely, but McCoy and Boyd had by this time learned enough of the Japanese language to know that the interpretations of Moreama were very incorrect. Partly on this account, perhaps, the examination was again put off to the morrow, at which time, the opperhoofd from Desima was present. "He asked us," says McCoy, "what was our object in coming into the Japan seas? We told him we came in pursuit of whales. He then asked us if we came in search of any other kind of fish;—if whaling was our only object;—and if we did not also come to spy out the country? We told him, No, we only came for whales. He asked us if we ate the whales; to which we replied, We made oil of them, &c:—with more such conversation, after which we were carried back to our prison."

The suspicious rulers having no truth themselves, were not satisfied with the superintendent's examination, and next day (Sept. 6th), this testimony was all gone over again, and after it concluded, Moreama told them he doubted not they were spies, and came for no other purpose than to examine the country. The Dutch superintendent kindly sent them some coffee, sugar, gin and wine, and a piece of longcloths for Bull to make himself clothes. After six weeks had elapsed, he sent a letter to them, stating that permission had not yet come from Yedo, but that the Dutch ship would tarry 25 days outside of the harbor; he also wisely cautioned them against quarreling, adding that such unruly conduct would only aggravate their condition. In their reply to this note, the dispirited scamen expressed themselves as in a wretched condition, and begged him to make known their case to some American consul, if perchance thereby a man-of-war might be sent to their relief.

Seeing no release come, the impatient McCoy escaped from his prison, by tearing off the boards from the fence and climbing the wall, in the vain hope of getting aboard of the Dutch ship lying off the harbor before she sailed. He traveled all night, and hid himself in the hills during the next day, till 4 P. M., when he made for the beach, a rain-storm inducing him to hope the coast was clear, but he was retaken and carried back in a *kago* to his old quarters, and questioned as to his designs in escaping, and his object in spying out the land. He was put in stocks, and tied to the grating, during the night, and the next day carried to the town-house to undergo another examination, where the question as to his being a spy was again asked; though he told his keepers his only desire was to get aboard of the Dutch ship. He was taken thence to the common prison in the heart of the town, once the site of a church, and kept there by himself about three weeks. McCoy had by this time acquired so much knowledge of Japanese as to be able to talk with the people and his guard on most common subjects; but they were too carefully watched themselves to be free to tell him anything of importance. At the end of three weeks, thinking the Dutch ship had sailed, he despaired of ever getting away, and refused to take food. His guard told him he must eat, for that doubtless the emperor would give permission when he "thought good" for them to depart; and the governor himself sent an officer to inquire the reason of his abstinence. On the fourth day (Nov. 16th), he was taken to the town-house in a *kago*, rather faint from his long fast, where he again saw his companions, and met Mr. Levyssohn. This gentleman informed them all that permission for their departure had not yet come, and that the ship had already waited five days beyond the twenty-five; he added that he had written to the American consul at Batavia, and endeavored to cheer up the spirits of the dis-

heartened men by telling them they were not among savages, and that there was no cause for fear, even if release was long deferred. He also obtained a promise from the Japanese, that if McCoy behaved quietly he should be restored to his shipmates; which was done four days after.

After a month's detention, another escape was planned by burning through the floor of their room, and digging under the board fence, but only McCoy, Boyd, and Bull got out, when the guard heard the noise and stopped the rest. These three made for the thickets behind the town, and directed their course southwesterly to the seashore, which they reached about two o'clock; but the barking of a dog turned them from their course, so that daylight surprised them before they could reach some boats they saw in a distant cove. Hiding themselves in the bushes during the day, they started the next evening for the seaside, but hunger compelled them to ask a peasant for food; he kindly invited them to come into his hut and eat, and straightway went for the police, who arrested and pinioned the fugitives while at table, and returned them to the temple after an absence of twenty-four hours. Here their arms were tied up behind their backs so tight and high, that when the cords were removed after four hours suffering, the poor fellows could not let their hands down without assistance. As a further punishment for their restlessness, they were then fettered in large stocks, McCoy's being much the heaviest (about 300 lbs.), and laid in the outer yard during the night; in the morning, wet with dew and stiff from their constraint, they and all their companions were carried to the town-house. While proceeding thither, they imprecated the vengeance of their country upon their tormentors, who tauntingly replied, "If any officers from your country come here, we'll serve them as we did the American commodore last year, who was knocked down at Yedo by a soldier;" if the Americans took no

* We will let Commodore Biddle's official account explain this affair. The rumor here mentioned had also reached Lewchew.

U. S. S. Columbus, Off Japan, July 31, 1846.

Sir, This ship and the Vincennes sailed from the Chusan islands on the 7th inst. As your instructions direct me to ascertain if the ports of Japan are accessible, I proceeded, on leaving the coast of China, towards the coast of Japan. The Japanese, as you know, have always been more rigid in the exclusion of foreigners, than even the Chinese. The only Europeans admitted to trade are the Dutch from Batavia; and their trade is confined to a single port, and limited to one annual ship. By the laws of Japan, foreign ships are not permitted to anchor in any port of the empire, except that of Nagasaki. Any attempt to penetrate Japan made at that port, would be sure to encounter the hostility of the Dutch, whose exertions have hitherto been successful against every attempt to disturb their monopoly. The Japanese officers at Nagasaki are without authority to treat with foreign officers; they could not accede to any propositions; they could only transmit them to the seat of government at Yedo. The distance between Yedo and Nagasaki is 315 leagues, and the journey between them is "usually performed in seven weeks," according to a work on Japan published at New York in 1841. I concluded, therefore, to proceed direct to the bay of Yedo, where I anchored on the 30th instant, the Vincennes in company.

Before reaching the anchorage, an officer with a Dutch interpreter came on board. He inquired what was my object in coming to Japan? I answered, that I came as a friend, to ascertain whether Japan had, like China, opened her ports to foreign trade, and, if she had, to fix by treaty the condition on which American vessels should trade with Japan. He requested me to commit this answer to writing, and I gave him a written paper, a copy of which is herewith transmitted. He informed me that any supplies I might require would be furnished by the government. To my inquiry, whether I would be allowed to go on shore, he replied in the negative. He objected to our boats passing between this ship and the Vincennes; but as I insisted upon it, he yielded. Upon anchoring, the ship was surrounded by a vast number of boats belonging to the government. The ship was soon thronged with Japanese. I permitted them to come on board in large numbers, that all might be convinced of our friendly disposition as well as of our ability, in any event, to take care of ourselves. On the following morning, an officer, apparently of higher rank, came on board. He stated, that foreign ships, upon entering a port of Japan, always landed their guns, muskets, swords, &c. I told him it was impossible to do so, that trading vessels only could be expected to do so, and I assured him that we were peaceably disposed. He informed me that my written paper of the preceding day had been transmitted to the Emperor, who was at some distance from Yedo, and that an answer would be received in five or six days.

notice of that, why should they look after you, who are only poor sailors? You are here now, and can't help yourselves. If their ships come here, our priests will blow them to pieces."

I asked him why we were surrounded by boats, and he replied, that they might be ready in case we wanted them to tow the ship. This, of course, was not true; the object, of course, being to prevent us from communicating with the shore.—When our boats were sent to sound at some distance from the ship Japanese boats followed them, without, however, molesting them. During our whole stay these boats continued about the ship. I had on board copies in Chinese of the French, English, and American treaties with China. I offered these treaties to the Japanese officer, who declined receiving them, saying that he could not receive them without the permission of his Emperor. I offered these treaties subsequently to other Japanese officers, who in like manner declined to receive them.

It is worth while, perhaps, to mention that, on the first day, the Japanese undertook to water the ship. They sent off 180 gallons; and on the second day, 863 gallons; our consumption being nearly 800 gallons. I told the officer, unless they watered the ship properly, that I would send our own boats on shore for water. He said there would be trouble if I sent our boats on shore. I replied that I should be obliged to do so if they continued as heretofore to supply us inadequately. The result was that on the third day, upwards of 11,000 gallons were brought off, and on the following day nearly 10,000 gallons.

On the 25th, not having received any answer to the papers sent on shore five days previously, I expressed to the Japanese officer my surprise at the delay, and requested him to inform the governor of Yedo, that I desired an answer as early as possible. On the 7th, an officer, with a suite of eight persons, came on board with the Emperor's answer, which was translated, by the interpreter, as follows: "According to the Japanese laws, the Japanese may not trade, except with the Dutch and Chinese. It will not be allowed that America make a treaty with Japan, or trade with her, as the same is not allowed with any other nation. Concerning strange lands, all things are fixed at Nagasaki, but not here in the bay; therefore you must depart as quick as possible, and not come any more in Japan." I stated to the officer that the United States wished to make a treaty of commerce with Japan, but not unless Japan also wished a treaty; that I came here for information on this subject, and having now ascertained that Japan is not yet prepared to open her ports to foreign trade, I should sail the next day, if the weather permitted. This answer was, at the officer's request, committed to writing, and given to him. The Emperor's letter I forwarded by the *Vincennes* to Dr. Parker at Canton, for translation, and requested him to transmit to you the original and the translation of it.

I may here mention that Mr. Wolcott, our consul at Shanghai, informed me that he had sold American cottons to some extent to Chinese merchants for shipment to Nagasaki. In this way the supply of American cottons in Japan may perhaps become equal to the demand. While at Batavia in October last, I was informed that the Dutch trade at Japan was insignificant in amount; that its profits scarcely covered the expenses of the factory and of the customary presents; and the Dutch valued their intercourse with Japan chiefly because, while their own flag was admitted, all other European flags were excluded—a distinction gratifying to their national pride. This account of the trade seems to be confirmed by the fact that some years ago the Dutch East India Company voluntarily relinquished it to the Dutch government.

I must now communicate an occurrence of an unpleasant character. On the morning that the officer came down in a junk with the Emperor's letter, I was requested to go on board the junk to receive it. I refused, and informed the interpreter that the officer must deliver on board this ship any letter that had been intrusted to him for me. To this the officer assented, but added that my letter, having been delivered on board the American ship, he thought the Emperor's letter should be delivered on board the Japanese vessel. As the Japanese officer, though attaching importance to his own proposal, had withdrawn it as soon as I objected to it, I concluded that it might be well for me to gratify him, and I informed the interpreter that I would go on board the junk, and there receive the letter. The interpreter then went on board the junk. In an hour afterwards, I went alongside the junk in the ship's boat, in my uniform. At the moment that I was stepping on board, a Japanese on the deck of the junk gave me a blow or a push, which threw me back into the boat. I immediately called to the interpreter to have the man seized, and then returned to the ship. I was followed on board by the interpreter and a number of Japanese officers. They all expressed the greatest concern at what had occurred; stated that the offender was a common soldier on board, and assured me that he should be punished severely. They asked in what manner I wished him to be punished, and I replied according to the laws of Japan. I stated that the officers also were greatly to blame, as they ought to have been on deck to receive me. They declared that they had not expected me alongside; and I was subsequently convinced that, owing to bad interpretation, they believed my final decision had been that they were to come to the ship. I was careful to impress upon them all the enormity of the outrage that had been committed, and how much they owed to my forbearance. They manifested great anxiety and apprehension, and endeavored in every way to appease me. In the course of the day, the governor of Yedo sent an officer to inform me that the man should be severely punished, and hoped I would not think too seriously of the affair. The conduct of the man is inexplicable especially as all the Japanese in and about the ship had evinced great good nature in their intercourse with us. As I was convinced that the outrage had been committed without the procurement or knowledge of the Japanese officers, and as every atonement that I could expect or desire was promptly rendered, I should not have deemed it necessary to communicate this occurrence, except to guard against any incorrect statement that may appear in the public prints.

I sailed from the bay of Yedo on the 29th. The *Vincennes* parted company yesterday. I enclose a copy of her orders.

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, *Sec. of the Navy, Washington,*

Very respectfully, your most obedient,
JAMES BIDDLE.

At the examination, the governor remarked he was more convinced than ever that they were spies by these repeated attempts to escape, and in order to secure them from injuring themselves, and save himself from anxiety by their trying to get out, he sent them all to prison, confining them in two small cages which were inclosed in a larger one; McCoy, Boyd and Martin were kept in one 18 by 8 ft., and the rest in another 18 by 12 ft. square, the two being about six feet apart; both of them offensive, full of vermin, and open to the weather; and to be entered only by crawling in. The only furniture in them were lousy mats and a small washstand. The next night (Dec. 17th.), Maw, one of the Hawaiians hung himself in his cage, evidently by design, and not from aberration of mind. His corpse was put into a square box, and buried in the Dutch burying-ground; and when his comrades asked permission to accompany the body to its burial, their request was scoffingly rejected; though in the official report handed to Capt. Glynn, it is asserted that the men themselves buried him. In view of the increased sufferings brought upon them all, the spirited attempts of McCoy and his shipmates to break loose were blameable, especially too, after one experiment had convinced them of the hopelessness of ultimate escape from the country. The fate of an American sailor belonging to a shipwrecked company two years before,* who had been cut down

* The vessel here referred to was the whaler *Lawrence*, and so far as we know the following is the only account of her wreck published. The geography of the notice is so utterly incorrect, that we think the men were deceived by their keepers.

Loss of the American ship Lawrence. By advices from Singapore we regret to announce the total loss of the American whaler *Lawrence*, which left Poughkeepsie on the 10th July, 1845. From the statement published by How the mate, we learn that on the night of the 27th of May, 1846, while in the vicinity of the Japanese islands, the vessel struck on a rock, and the entire crew put off in three boats, only one of which, however, reached the land in safety. There were on board this boat How and seven others, one of whom died shortly after leaving the *Lawrence*. On landing they discovered a bamboo cottage, but there being no persons within, one of the party was left while the others returned to the boat. During their absence, two men had entered the cottage, who refused to sit down. They inquired by signs, how many there were in the party, and on being told appeared frightened and ran away. The next morning those in the boat landed at a spot on the mouth of the river, where a representation of a fort had been placed. Here about 60 men, armed with spears, motioned them away. This had not the desired effect, for How and his companions advanced, threw themselves on their knees, and supplicated food, which was brought to them immediately. They were again motioned off, but on pointing out the frail nature of their boat for a long voyage, were ordered to get into it again, after being searched and deprived of everything they had about them.

The natives then also got into a boat and towed the other up the river to a lake, on one side of which stood a house, covered all round with mats, which they entered. At night they were removed on foot to a brick building at some distance, which appeared to be the prison of the town. They were there locked up in a cell all night, with a watch over them, and in the morning were led blindfolded to the governor's house, where they were interrogated as to their religion and country, and subsequently removed back to prison. Daily similar interrogatories were put to them. In this prison they continued for 11 months, having a daily allowance of rice, fish, and water. At last, all the company having fallen sick, the guards removed them to Yedo, where the Emperor lived, and at which place they were put on board a junk and stowed in the hold. One day they were made to wash themselves, clean clothes were given them, and they were conducted into the cabin, which was beautifully fitted up with silk and gold ornaments. They were then given to understand that they had arrived at Matsmai, where the Emperor's son lived, and that he was coming on board to see them. Soon after the Prince appeared, and they were again examined before him in the Dutch language. This lasted for an hour. The Prince left them, and shortly after them sent a box of sweetmeats.

The next day they continued their voyage, and arrived at another city, where they were put into a box, the lid fastened down and carried to the town-hall, where they underwent another questioning. The chief object of the Japanese throughout was evidently to find out whether they were Englishmen; and the mate is of opinion that had they confessed themselves Englishmen they would have been killed. One day they were summoned to the town-hall, where a man in European dress sat among the judges. He spoke first to the prisoners in Dutch, and then in French. At last he said in English, "If there are any John Bulls amongst you, you had better not say any thing about it." He asked their religion, and the circumstances which brought them there, interpreting as he went along into Japanese, and also informed them that they should recover their liberty. Notwithstanding this, one of the seven endeavored to make his escape, but was caught and unhappily murdered. At last, after seventeen months' confinement, they were liberated, and sent to the Dutch factory, in the director of which they recognized the European who had spoken to them so kindly at the town hall. Ten days after they were put on board the Dutch ship *Herculebosch*, in which vessel they left the country.

when resisting the police, and died of his wounds from cruel neglect, should also have served as a warning, and was perhaps told them with that object:—though, here at liberty, we are not going to judge the conduct of these imprisoned men in their natural desires and attempts to be free, very strictly.

It was now becoming cold, and though the snow and rain beat into the cages, no bedding, not even their own clothes, were given the wretched men; even their intreaties for covering of some sort for Ezra Goldthwait, who was taken ill about Christmas, were refused. This man had been quite well hitherto; he became delirious on the third day, with such symptoms of swelled and cracked tongue, pain in the stomach, and frothing at the mouth, that his companions in misery were sure he had been poisoned. His only protection was a thin shirt and trowsers, but though the snow beat upon him as he lay on a quilt in his foul cage, his cruel keepers refused to return him his own blanket till three days before he died, when he had been sick three weeks. A physician came every day, whose prescriptions rather increased his malady. This poor man had smuggled a Bible into his cage, which he requested Martin to return to his relatives in Salem, Mass. He died Jan. 24th, the Japanese newyear, and was buried next day, his keepers ridiculing the others for asking permission to attend the funeral, just as they did when Mawzy was buried. Not long after his death, Waters was, attacked in the same manner, but recovered as soon as his companions refused to give him the doctor's prescriptions. His guards told him while he was sick that his coffin was made, the grave dug, and the day appointed when they were to bury him.

Their food during this time was rice and sweet potatoes for breakfast, rice and now and then a treat of 3 or 4 oz. of fish for dinner, and rice with boiled seaweed for supper; tea was furnished for drink. There was little to break the monotony of their irksome captivity. They could not read the Bible, lest it should be taken away from them; and they had no other books, nor any means of amusement. A Japanese culprit was decapitated near their cage one day, but as only one could look out of the hole at a time, McCoy alone saw a lad running by the door with a head in his hand; the guards to scare them intimated strongly that such might be their own fate, but Martin says he cared very little about the threat. McCoy did most of the talking, and had become rather intimate with one of the guards, who, as a great secret, told him there was another American in prison in Nagasaki. He also learned from the same source the existence of the war between his own country and Mexico.

The day of their deliverance was now approaching, the letter sent by the Dutch ship having reached its destination, and accomplished its purpose. On the evening of April 17th, they heard a single distant gun, and soon after one of the guard told McCoy, under a charge of secrecy, he was sure it indicated the approach of a vessel; and if so, they would soon hear others from the forts to alarm the country and put the people on their guard—which they actually did while yet conversing. His shipmates commenced cheering, but by request of his good natured informant, McCoy asked them to be quiet, lest suspicion should be aroused. In the evening he overheard the guard cautioned by their superiors not to tell the prisoners a ship had come, and in the morning when he asked a relief guard what was the occasion of the firing, he was told they were scaling the guns. His friend coming on guard on the 21st, McCoy learned it was an American ship-of-war come for them, but his informant added that her captain

must wait until an answer was received from Yedo before his countrymen could be given up to him, which would delay him between forty and fifty days, as the governor had no power to deliver them up without express permission.

On the 24th, the day after Serai Tatsnosen had promised Capt. Glynn, several high officers came to the prison, and Moreama informed the men that in two days they would be taken to the town-house, and thence sent to Desima to be delivered over to the Dutch superintendent, for the purpose of being transferred to the ship which had come for them; and he then required them to give him all their clothes and bedding. Accordingly, on the 26th, they were all carried to the town-house in *kago*, where they met McDonald, and saw the new governor, who had arrived at Nagasaki since the ship.

Ranald McDonald, the other sailor delivered up, was from the whaler Plymouth, Edwards, of Sag Harbor, who in a spirit of adventure, left the ship according to a previous arrangement with his captain in a small boat, intending to cruise along the Japanese coast, or cast himself ashore, as the winds or opportunity might favor. His boat was so contrived that he could capsize it himself, and an experiment he made the next day near a reef proved that it could be done without danger in smooth water. He first landed on an uninhabited island, which he examined throughout in hopes of finding traces of human beings, but seeing none he left it for the larger island of Timoshe or Dessi, about ten miles distant. When about half way over, he capsized his boat and righted her, and then coasted along the shore till night. The next morning he saw some fishermen, who approached as he beckoned to them, and into whose boat he jumped, holding the painter of his own boat and making signs to go ashore. On landing (July 2d, 1848), they put sandals on his feet, and gently took him to a house where a meal was provided for him, and a suit of dry clothes. He remained with these people eight days, but poor as they were and kindly disposed, they were under too much fear of their rulers to harbor him without permission, or keep him without reporting him; and accordingly, at the end of this period four officers from Soya arrived at the house, who carried him to the capital of the island situated on the seashore in a northwesterly direction, and there confined him. His narrow quarters were enlarged at his remonstrance, and he had passed a month here quietly, when a higher officer arrived to take him to a town called Soya on the island of Yesso, about 25 miles distant.

Here he remained in confinement a fortnight, waiting for a junk to take him to Matsmai, where he arrived Sept. 6th, after a passage of fifteen days, including stoppages; he was allowed to walk about the vessel's quarter deck, but forbidden to hold communication with the men, or go ashore. We can not find any of the islands or towns mentioned by McDonald on our maps, but the length of time employed in the passage to Matsmai, leads us to suppose them to be in the northeastern part of Yesso. Though confined, he was treated kindly at Matsmai, clothed in a Japanese dress, and all his wants supplied with the addition of even a few luxuries; among other things, he was furnished with a rude, wooden spoon cut out and left behind by one of the crew of the *Ladoga*, who he was told had attempted to escape. He left Matsmai, Oct. 1st, and reached Nagasaki the 17th, where he was provided with a lodging in a temple.

On going ashore at Nagasaki, he was carried to the town-house, but before going in, Moreama instructed him how to behave when in presence of the governor, and ordered him to step on an image in front of the first door, which he

said was the "devil of Japan." This plate, about a foot wide, was, as well as he could see, a rude picture of the Virgin and Child, but the crowd pressing in prevented him examining it closely. He was compelled to kneel in court, and soon a *kissing* announced the governor, to whom he was obliged to make the Japanese salutation—bending down so as not to look in his face. On being asked his place of residence, he told them Oregon, New York, and Canada, in hopes to be delivered to the first American or English man-of-war which might come, and thus be the means of restoring the other men to liberty, who, for their restlessness he thought would be kept prisoners for life. Many other questions were asked him, and among others if he believed there was a God in heaven? He said, "Yes, I believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ." He was taken away in a *kago* to the quarters provided for him, where he remained over six months until the Preble's arrival.

He was twice taken to the town-house to be questioned, and also often examined in his room. On asking for his Bible and other books, his keeper told him angrily, "Don't speak of the Bible in Japan, it is not a good book." McDonald thought one object of these interrogatories was to find out whether he had any friends in America, who were likely to exert themselves to effect his liberation when they knew his captivity. His time was chiefly employed in teaching English to a few natives, among whom Moreama was his best scholar, though he thought he himself knew more of the Japanese language than his pupil did of English. He ascribes his comparatively kind treatment to his efforts in this line, as his scholars were both studious and inquisitive.

The arrival of the Preble caused no little excitement among the government people, and the next morning (April 18th) his guard showed him a list of the troops which had come into town in consequence, to the number of 3504 men, making, with the ordinary garrison of 650, and those previously arrived, nearly six thousand troops, besides their followers—an extraordinary force. The day before his liberation, he was requested to give the relative rank of the commander of the Preble for the information of his keepers, which he did by counting in the order of succession from the highest chief in the United States: "First, he says, I gave the People (which they could not comprehend), then the President, Secretary of the Navy, commodore, captain, and commander; this rank was so high as apparently to excite their surprise." His information perhaps led to the change in the officer, Hagewara Matasak, who went aboard the Preble the day of her departure.

It is impossible to say whether it was owing to the change of officers, and the arrival of a new governor, or to the decided tone of Capt. Glynn, that the captives were given up; but it is probable that the new incumbent was quite willing to accept Mr. Levyssohn's offer, and rid himself of so undesirable a visitor as a foreign ship of war. The men were then taken to Desima, where they were furnished with an excellent dinner—a banquet to them after their fare of seaweed, rice, and fish—and allowed to amuse themselves by walking about the factory grounds, while the boat was getting ready. On taking leave, they returned their thanks to Mr. Levyssohn for his kindness to them, which indeed was shown in so many ways and at so many times as to call for their acknowledgments, and that of all their countrymen abroad; and we hope the government at Washington will communicate its sense of this courteous conduct to him through the proper channels at Batavia.

We are sure that the readers of this melancholy narrative will rejoice with us that commodore Geisinger had it in his power to respond so promptly to the call of humanity, and send one of the ships of his squadron to bring away these unfortunate captives, and let the Japanese know that though they were poor sailors, they were not overlooked by their country on that account. Praise is due to Capt. Glynn for the energy displayed in executing his commission, and intimating to the Japanese rulers that he was not to be trifled with, and put off with the frivolous excuse that they must first ask imperial permission before a company of sailors they had held captive for nearly a twelvemonth could be given up.

ART. V. *Journal of Occurrences: French consular ground at Shánghái, and protest of the American consul; popular disturbance at Sungkiáng; smuggling of salt in Kiángsú; grain junks at Shánghái; proposal to erect a tablet to the governor-general of Canton and his colleague; question of entering the gates of Canton; execution of a graduate.*

FRENCH consular ground at Shánghái. It is known probably to most of our readers, that the first British consul at Shánghái, Captain Balfour, after having secured for himself a residence in the city, and free ingress and egress for his countrymen at all times, obtained from the local authorities for British residents, a very large plat of ground between the Yángking Páng on the south, and the Súchau creek on the north, extending from the Hwángpü westward. It was stipulated, if we have been correctly informed, that over this plat no other flag than the British should be hoisted; that no part of this ground should be rented to other than British subjects, except through and by the intervention of the British consul; and that all the Chinese dwelling thereon should as speedily as possible be removed, and none other be allowed to rent or build. Acting on the same principle, the French consul has recently negotiated for another plat, as will be seen by the following translation.

Proclamation by Luh, seven times recorded for meritorious deeds, advanced three grades, and by imperial decree appointed military intendant of the departments of Súchau, Sungkiáng and Táitsáng in the province of Kiángsú.

Whereas the French nation enjoys free commerce at Shánghái; and whereas I, the intendant, have recently received from the consul. C. de Montigny, a communication to the following effect:

"In the autumn of 1844, the imperial commissioner and governor-general of Kwángtung and Kwángsi, Kiyang, and the imperial commissioner and plenipotentiary Lagrené, in behalf of their respective governments, after due deliberation agreed,—and the same was by memorial reported to the emperor, and his majesty was pleased to grant by edict,—that all people of France coming to the five ports to reside, no matter whether they be many or few, shall be permitted, in accordance with the second article of the Treaty, to rent houses and factories, and also ground on which they themselves may build houses, factories, churches, hospitals, alma-houses, colleges and cemeteries; that the Chinese local officers and the resident French consul shall together consult and determine where it shall be proper for the French residents to dwell or to build; that in all places, where houses or lands are rented, both parties shall conform to the local current price—Chinese officers must prevent their people from demanding exorbitant prices, and the French consul must take care that his countrymen do not force down the price below what is right; that at the five ports, the number of houses and extent of ground shall not be so restricted that the French residents can not realize any profits therefrom; and that if the Chinese people destroy or profane any of the aforesaid churches, burial-places, &c., the Chinese officers shall according to law severely

punish the offenders.—For a long time, the several nations [having treaties with the Chinese] have acted in conformity with these stipulations—as is on record. But the French, not yet having rented any ground at Shānghái, it is proper that we should meet and deliberate on this matter.”

Accordingly, on the receipt of the foregoing communication, I, the intendant immediately met the French consul, M. de Montigny, to confer with him on this matter, and a site was agreed upon beyond the northern gate of the city, bounded as follows: On the south, extending to the Yāngking Páng; on the west extending to the temple of the god of war, and the Canton Assembly hall; and from the Yuenho to the east corner of the Yāngking Páng. It was further agreed, that, if hereafter the aforesaid ground should be found insufficient, further deliberations may be held to provide for the exigencies that may arise from time to time; that, with reference to the site now defined, the French consul shall take care that his countrymen do not force down the price below what is proper; and that, should the Chinese, contrary to the provisions of the treaty, raise their demands above the local current price, he shall complain to the Chinese local authorities so that they may require their people to conform to the articles of the treaty. Should people of other nations wish to rent or build within the above-named limits, they shall repair to the French consul, who will deliberate and act in their behalf. A special proclamation, issued at Shānghái, 6th April, 1849.

Immediately on the appearance of this proclamation, the American consul, Mr. Griswold, entered his protest against it. We may remark here also that Mr. Griswold, on receiving his appointment as consul some six months ago, at once hoisted the American flag at his residence, within the British consular ground. To this hoisting of the flag both the taurái and the British consul objects. The flag, however, did not come down. The position taken by the U. S. A. Consul is against the *principle of exclusive privileges and exclusive rights*, one of the very worst features of Chinese policy. Suppose there are fifty consuls in Shānghái, and each follows out this principle, and obtains a plat of ground of equal extent with that obtained by the British consul. And suppose, further, that the same is done by a like number of consuls, or even by a much smaller number, at Canton, Amoy, Fuhchau, and Ningpo, what would be the consequence? Where would ground enough be found to meet the demand? It was well, it was necessary at first, for the British consul at Shānghái to take a strong position with regard to his jurisdiction. But marking off a large extent of ground—far more than is now required, or for many years is likely to be required, and claiming over it an exclusive jurisdiction is, we think, what would not be allowed to foreign consuls in any European state. It seems to us a wrong principle, which can not fail of being injurious in its effects. Entertaining these views, we are glad to know that Mr. Griswold has had independence sufficient to hoist his country's flag, and to protest as he has done, against parceling off this piece of ground to the inhabitants of one nation, and that piece to those of another nation. Foreigners should be allowed, we think, to rent houses and land, and to build at all the five ports, in such places as they please—enjoying, in this matter, the same rights and privileges as they enjoy in other countries.—We are happy to know that the most friendly feeling exists between the several consuls at Shānghái, and also between them and the local authorities, the question in dispute not having been allowed to mar that friendly feeling, but being referred for final adjustment to their respective plenipotentiaries.

Popular disturbances and loss of life in Sungkiang. Our readers are familiar with the reports and rumors of the famine that occurred in Kiángsú; a translation of an imperial edict is inserted on page 90, issued for the purpose of remitting and delaying the payment of taxes, in certain places visited by that famine. Sungkiáng fú is the most eastern department of the province of Kiángsú; the city is distant about thirty miles southwest from Shānghái. Two magistrates reside in that city, each of whom has the jurisdiction of a district, one of which is called Lau. More than a thousand of the country people of that district on 17th of March, came to the magistrate's office in the city of Sungkiáng, to beg that their taxes might be diminished and delayed; as they assembled in the great hall of the magistracy, they commenced a row; and thereupon the police came out against the rioters; a great concourse of

the inhabitants of the city was drawn to the spot; strife began; seventeen of the rioters were left dead in the hall, scores were wounded, and many tens of others were slaughtered on the roads as they fled into the country. The *tituh* or chief military officer on the station immediately interposed, and ordered the prefect of the city to put the magistrate in dures, while he sent up a report of the case to the provincial officers at Sûchau. From a private source we learn that the magistrate had resolved that the taxes should be paid; and that the people, not having wherewith to pay, came to make known their inability and beg for favor. They were distressed people, absolutely unable to pay their taxes, and the magistrate being unwilling to listen to their complaint, they became desperate, and riot and slaughter ensued.

The smuggling of salt by men and women, is grievously complained of by the authorities of Kiángsu, who have issued numerous and stringent proclamations for its prevention. They complain chiefly of the retail trade, which is carried on by individuals, "both men and women, in town and country, to the great damage of the revenue." It is upon this whole business that Kiying has been specially commissioned to go to the provinces of Kiángsu and Chehkiáng.

Some of the grain junks, in the emperor's service, have arrived at Sháng-hái, and are receiving rice, which is to be carried inland, via Sûchau; to Tientsin. The governor of the province has ordered the people, in case the junk-men come on shore, to seize and bind them, and without delay hand them over to the magistrates. No disturbances have occurred this year, and none seem to be anticipated.

Proposed Tablet to Sû. The following paper was hawked about the streets of Canton last month, as much to test the manner in which it would be received by the people, probably, as for any other reason. The Tablet will not be erected very soon, at any rate, and if report be true that Sû has expressed his disapprobation of the measure, it is still less likely to be set up.

Honorary Tablet erected to their excellencies Su and Yeh by the gentry and literati. From of old there were no well contrived plans for ruling the foreigners, for if they were strictly governed then strife arose, while contempt was the consequence of treating them kindly. Their dispositions are perfectly avaricious and presumptuous, as ravenous after gain as the leviathan rushing on its prey; if they be disappointed in their profits, they become ten times, yea, a hundred times more outrageous, and can not be appeased. It was said by Tang Kingchuen of the Ming dynasty, "China and foreigners are like a great family neighbor to a gang of robbers, whose proximity is more dangerous than their violence; for then there is no period when they must not be guarded against, while they are all the more able to observe every opening to their advantage."

The country having long enjoyed peace, our civilians have become negligent of the public welfare in their eagerness after their own advancement, and our military officers have kept quiet in order to secure their own safety. At the first rumor of robbers they start with fear, and seeing the storm from afar scatter in amazement; ere they have come to the brunt, the spirit of the battalions is already effete, if not even extinct. There is perhaps some explanation for the unbounded violence and exactions of the foreigners; for in former times they had only Macao, one little corner on the extreme south as a trading-spot, but now they sail here and there into every port just as they please, building foreign houses, bringing foreign women, and obtaining all they ask for, to their heart's desire. Moreover, they boast saying, "We are a match for the Chinese officers. Why should we not go into the city here at Canton, and pay our respects to the authorities just the same as is done in Fuhkien, Chehkiáng, and Kiángnán?"

The Imperial envoy [Kiying] unavoidably complied with the necessities of the case, and memorialized the Court, setting the period of three years, after which this might be allowed; but he shortly after retired from office, and his excellency Su, an officer deep in counsel and bold in action, was raised from the governorship to the rank of gov.-general; and after about a year's possession of the post, he has fully learned that the spirit of the people of Canton can be depended on, and that the enthusiasm of the troops can easily be aroused. When the time arrived, the chiefs of the nations came in their vessels requesting an interview, when his excellency accorded them a personal meeting, at which he firmly rejected ten or more things besought by them. Perceiving that the commissioner was immovable, the chiefs again put forth their request to enter the city, when his excellency said, "I will refer the matter to Court to see whether or no it can be allowed." They exclaimed, "Well, well! We will hear the mandate."

Meanwhile the provincial officers generally thought his excellency would not be able to arrange the matter amicably, and that native vagabonds would take advantage of the occasion to excite disturbance, which even his utmost energy could not overrule; but he never showed the least discomposure [at this threatening prospect], and in conjunc-

tion with the füyuen, Yeh, exerted all his wisdom and energy in making preparations for a resort to arms. At the same time, these two officers sedulously collected horses and enlisted men, put in order the cannon and other military equipments, and laid in a store of provisions. They stimulated the enthusiasm of officers by exciting their emulation and love for glory; they roused the courage of the soldiery by holding out rewards, and by threatening certain punishments; they excited the patriotism of the gentry and the literati by circulating energetic remonstrances, setting forth in the plainest manner the happiness or calamity which would result from their conduct; and by stopping the trade of the merchants and shopinen, they stirred up their indignation and obtained their co-operation. By all these means, they prepared the people to protect themselves, every household making itself ready for the struggle, so that spears and arms glittered in every street, the clangor of drums made the welkin ring, and the combined action of the many myriads of brave spirits in the city, paralyzed the heaven-daring pride [of the foreigners], and terrified their slavish hearts.

The Imperial rescript having arrived, his excellency issued a proclamation that the popular indignation could not be opposed, and the question of entering the city was accordingly dropped. For about ten years, since 1839 and 1840, when troops were drawn out and mutual hatred was stirred up, they have trodden down at will the coasts of our country, seizing and destroying our people and our women; penetrating everywhere through our inner and outer waters, and the inhabitants have universally complied with their inclinations, as if they had been bewitched. Nobody could or would hear of any man, or any plan of action, adequate to oppose their intentions, or check their encroachments; only we of Canton at Sanyuen-li have ever destroyed them, and at Hwangehuh-ki cut them to pieces. Even tender children here are desirous to devour their flesh and sleep upon their skins.

Since it was necessary to follow this popular spirit, how could we ever have had such settled quiet as the present, if their excellencies, carefully noting the people's thoughts, that their martial zeal was aroused and their energies stirred up, had not made them unite their power for the preservation of the city. The general voice of the people and scholars exclaims, "It was their act, and it will not do to let it pass without making a memorial of it." They have accordingly enjoined this upon us. We remember this expression of Mencius, "A truly lofty spirit swells to the capacity of heaven and earth: in such a man, justice and wisdom are equally matched." Once, Li Kwángpeh, being about to commence a battle, the standards changed color at his presence; Hú Sangyu being about to issue forth pierced his head with a chisel; this is what we call spirit, such as when it is at its height, soldiers submit to even before they try the risk of a battle. But now such a spirit is quite extinct in the empire; there is no one who can rescue from little evils or from great calamities, and we can not tell when this disastrous state of things will stop.

Such being the sagacity of their excellencies, men in after times will say, "The foreigners did not enter the city on such and such a year, because Sù and Yeh ruled." Such merit and spirit as this will no more perish than gold or stone will decay. If generals are carefully appointed, and soldiers well selected for the frontiers, it will be a firm safeguard and enduring rule of action for a hundred years, showing that our border officers are men of superior talent, and not that we had any influence in advising them.

The matter of foreigners entering the city gates has been revived among the people of Canton during the past week or two, partly by the rewards conferred by the emperor upon Sù and his colleagues, according to the rescript given in our last number, but much more by the memorial the governor-general has drawn up in accordance with that paper, recommending certain civil and military officers to court for promotion. This paper was circulated in Canton about the time it was sent to Peking, and the style in which his excellency spoke of the valor and loyalty of the Cantonese inflated their conceit of themselves to the brim, and they have been letting off their "superfluity of naughtiness" upon the foreigners, by railing at them as they pass through the streets. The persons recommended to notice are most of them known to the populace, and this explains in a measure the greater interest taken in the promotions. The city is perfectly quiet, however, and the ill-disposed lazaroni, who crowded into it in the early spring have mostly scattered into the country at the approach of harvest.

In the last number we offered a few remarks upon the general question of the *right* of foreigners to enter the city of Canton, when tested by the provisions of the treaties, aside from the permission given them to do so at the other ports. The main object in so doing was to see if there could not some grounds for leniency towards the Chinese government be found, some reasons be brought forward for again referring the matter to headquarters, and removing its settlement from this region to the north where calm discussion of the whole subject between both parties might result in a better understanding of each other's

wishes—if need be in a new treaty throughout. Notwithstanding what has happened, we do not regard so desirable an object as impracticable, while it is one worthy of effort. Here is the case. The general government concedes the right of entrance within the gates of Canton, but puts in a proviso that it shall not be carried into effect until the people are more under control; while at the same time, it makes no effort to bring the minds of the people to see the reasonableness of this concession. The people on their part revive their plans of resistance, as soon as the effort of April, 1847, shows that the other party are in earnest in the proposition; and their alarms are increased by the survey made of part of Honam, supposing that they are immediately to be dispossessed of a portion of their land. For two years the designs of the foreigners form the topic of popular debate, not among a reasonable community, it should be added, but among an ignorant, ill-disposed, class; and as the time of fulfilling the stipulation draws near, the citizens, covertly encouraged doubtless by the local rulers, arm themselves in defence, as they suppose, of their capital about to be wrested from them. The central government does not interfere, as it would in the West, and as it ought to do here, but neither does it retract the concession of 1846; that still remains, and the manner in which it has been virtually set aside by subordinates, offers a good reason for repairing to the capital. In making these remarks, we are not endeavoring to uphold the conduct of Sü, who is acting counter to the best interests of his country; nor are we trying to find excuses for the foolish opposition of the Cantonese to a privilege that in itself is worth but little; but we wish to ascertain if there has really been such an infringement of plain, express, *treaty* rights as to call for the attack of Canton to carry them out—though we are not sure it must not come to that before the end. That the spirit of all the treaties has been violated by the people of this city, we freely admit; their very first articles provide for peace and security to person and property, and that we have not; yet Canton is not China, and we know the citizens of Amoy and Shānghái have no sympathy with those living here. We agree with the remark of a correspondent of the China Mail, who signs himself *Forfez*, that “their present cause of offence is not so great as to call for the destruction of their city;” and with his conclusion that such a step would not be necessary for the credit of the British nation. And it was to seek for some reasons which would justify such a view that we have gone over the whole matter, which we now leave to the judgment of our readers, who have the entire facts so far as we know them, and can make their own conclusions.

The number of executions during the present month has been 28, nearly equaling those of last month, and if the present administration long continues in power, the people of the Two Kwáng provinces will long remember its bloody rule. One case of judicial murder has excited not a little remark among the people, and is in fact such an atrocious deed as might naturally arouse indignation. Lí Tsiángking, a graduate of low rank in the township of Shāngchuen sz' in the district of Sinning was informed against by a personal enemy, and arrested on the charge of traitorous and seditious conduct, and it is reported that a letter written by him to Hongkong was intercepted. He was brought to Canton with some of his relatives, and so much interest was felt in his behalf that a party of gentry from his town came forward to testify to his correct conduct. The governor, however, not only executed him, but confined them in prison. He has published an edict in reference to the case, as if he felt it necessary to say something, in which he declares this Lí to be a heartless miscreant, a mover of sedition, to whom the silly people gave heed, one whose crimes could only be expiated by his blood; and who had moreover confessed his wickedness, and whose own writing testified against him. He concludes his mandate to the people not to listen to such specious words, lest they be involved in a like dreadful end, by exhorting fathers to warn their children, and brothers to command their juniors, that every body attend to his own business lest he be entangled in the net of the law; “we love you as our own children, and hate the bad as our personal enemies; our eyes and ears see and hear everything, so that no one escapes us; no, not if he flies to the mountain recesses or the marshy wilds, or hides himself in the obscurest villages and remotest regions.”



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